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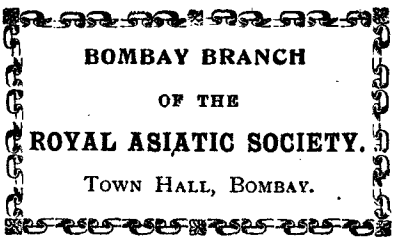

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THE "UTOPIA" AND THE HISTORY OF EDWARD V., BY SIR THOMAS MORE. WITH ROPER'S LIFE. EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, BY MAURICE ADAMS.

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INTRODUCTION.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

"THE keen, irregular face, the grey restless eye, the thin mobile lips, the tumbled brown hair, the careless gait and dress, as they remain stamped on the canvas of Holbein, picture the inner soul of the man, his vivacity, his restless, all-devouring intellect, his keen and even reckless wit, the kindly, half-sad humour that drew its strange veil of laughter and tears over the deep, tender reverence of the soul within." By these rapid strokes has the historian of the English people sketched for us Sir Thomas More, in whom, in early boyhood, the most sagacious English statesman of his age, Cardinal Morton, had detected the promise of a marvellous man; in whom, at the age of twenty, Colet found "the one genius which Britain possesses." Sir Thomas More is, in truth, one of the most striking and original, as well as one of the most attractive figures of his age and country. He exhibits such a rare union of light wit and sober sense, of ascetic piety and sceptical free-thought, of conservative feeling and radical opinion, that his life has seemed a great enigma. The man who was one of the foremost champions of the New Learning; who could jest with Erasmus over the dogmatic absurdities of the schoolmen, the folly of princes, and the ignorance and superstition of the people; who wrote of the happy republic where religion rested on no authority but that of reason; who taught that "God's design was the happiness of man, and the ascetic

rejection of human delight save for the common good was thanklessness to the Giver;"—this man, in his youth, scourged himself on Fridays; was hardly persuaded to abandon his intention of becoming a monk; wore for many years a hair shirt next his skin; wrote bitterly against Tyndall and the Protestant Reformation; and ended his life on the scaffold rather than renounce the supremacy of the Pope!

To understand this strange union of contraries in the same personality, it is necessary, not alone to study the man himself, but to take a survey of the age in which he lived, and become acquainted with that small group of distinguished men, of which he was, perhaps, the central figure.

More's nature, sensitive and many-sided, was responsive to the most varied and profound influences of his time. Nor was he merely receptive. He reacted upon his environment in a manner which gave evidence of the depth and intensity of his nature and the innate nobility of his character. To the good cause of justice and freedom, of culture and a noble life, he devoted freely the rare powers with which nature had endowed him.

The many-sidedness of his nature enabled him to reflect the more fully, and sympathise the more deeply with the opposing tendencies of the age of transition, in which his lot was cast. For he was born on the very border of the Mediæval and the Modern World; and in him and his fellow-workers the impulses and ideas of the New Age were slowly and painfully taking shape and coming to self-consciousness. The century which gave him birth witnessed the break up of Feudalism, and the beginning of that process of individual development and social disintegration which reached its climax in the Revolution of 1792. The edifice of Mediæval Society, so well organised and so fair, which might have seemed destined for the final

abode of the human spirit, had grown to be cramping to the energies of man, and repressive of his reason. It was rapidly being destroyed by the intellectual and economic development of the time; and the Feudal organisation, all the members of which were interdependent, was succeeded by a social state in which the unorganised poor became the prey of landowners and traders. Then arose, for the first time in England, a true proletariat, divorced from the soil and dependent entirely on wages, with no resource against old age, sickness, or lack of employment. But though the misery of the masses was perhaps never greater, though the social and economic changes were increasingly to their disadvantage, though the student of English History gets weary of the ever-increasing despotism of the Tudors, the intellectual progress of the age was wonderful.

The barriers which had confined men's minds for ages were falling or crumbling away, and the world was widening to their view. Within More's lifetime the New World had been discovered, and before his death the globe had been circumnavigated by a ship of Magellan's. The Foreworld of Classical Antiquity was now to be added to the realms of the scholar. We must, indeed, go back to the days of Petrarch and Boccaccio, if we would trace the first beginning of the revival of Greek learning in Western Europe, just as the knowledge of other lands began with the Crusades, and was increased by the travels of Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo. It remains true, nevertheless, that it was the exiled Greeks, driven into Italy by the growth of the Turkish Power, and the Fall of Constantinople, who first thoroughly aroused the enthusiasm of Italian scholars for the language and literature, the art and philosophy of Greece.

For some time after the revival of learning in Italy, the rest of Europe continued in intellectual darkness. The light

of the New Learning, however, reached Paris in 1458; and though Oxford waited longer for its advent, it was there that it was destined to shine forth with its clearest ray. Linacre and Grocyn, fired with zeal, visited Italy in 1485, where Linacre studied with the sons of Lorenzo de Medici under Chalcondylas and the renowned Poliziano. On their return to Oxford they began teaching Greek, and opened up to the body of younger men who gradually assembled round them, wearied with the barren study of Aristotle and the Schoolmen, a whole new world of thought and emotion. Six years later Colet also journeyed in Italy, and felt the influence not alone of classic culture, but of the purer religious spirit which animated Savonarola and Pico della Mirandola, and of the disgust inspired by the enormities of the Pope, Alexander VI., and his nephew, Cæsar Borgia. He returned to England, not only a disciple of the New Learning, but with the spirit of a reformer in Church and State, and his first work on his arrival was to lecture at Oxford on the Epistle to the Romans. These lectures formed a new departure. That a layman should lecture on subjects allowed only to the clergy was a great innovation, but his mode of treating his subjects was still more novel. Instead of expounding the Epistle in the scholastic manner, which found an allegory or profundity in every sentence, nay, in every word, he dealt with it as an historical document, refusing to consider a text apart from its context, interpreting the passages in a plain and common-sense way, and endeavouring to carry his hearers back with him to the times of the writer and make them feel and think with the apostle. Among these hearers was a poor scholar of whom he heard during his stay in Paris, and who had lately come over to England in the company of one of his pupils, Lord Mountjoy. This was the man whose name was soon destined to be famous throughout

Europe, the brilliant and unfortunate Erasmus. He came to Oxford for the advantages which it offered for the study of Greek, was moved by Colet's lectures, and in frequent meetings and conversations with him laid the foundation of a lifelong friendship. More was at Oxford when Colet had set out for Italy in 1493; but his father fearing that Greek studies might divert his mind from the law, to which he had destined him, and perchance also lead him into heresy, had removed him from the University and entered him at New Inn. Yet he kept up his friendship with Colet (whose father, Sir Henry Colet, seems to have been intimate with More's father) and with his other University friends. It was, perhaps, at Sir Henry Colet's table that he first met Erasmus, and the famous encounter of wit took place between them. More applied himself with great diligence to his legal studies, and was at length admitted as a barrister. About this time he lectured in Grocyn's Church, St. Laurence, Jewry, on the philosophy and historical contents of St. Augustine's *City of God*. Though away from the University, he resumed his study of Greek, and found a competent teacher in his close friend William Lilly, who had lately returned from the East, whither he had gone to perfect his knowledge of Hellenic language and literature. Though More had been called to the Bar, and a brilliant future seemed to offer itself to his youthful ambition, he felt a distaste for the world—for what reason we are not told—and being now completely dominated by that ascetic spirit which never quite deserted him, he lived for some time in the Charterhouse with Lilly, both of them submitting to the severest discipline, intending to become monks. Fortunately, More, either through disgust with the monkish life on a closer acquaintance, or through the persuasion of his friends, Colet and Erasmus, finally renounced

the cloister, and threw himself into the life of his time. He became Under-Sheriff of London, and was elected a member of the Parliament called together by Henry VII. in 1504, in order to extort money from the Commons in the form of "reasonable aids," on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter and the knighting of his son.

More carried with him into active life the principles which he at first thought could only be realised in a cloister. In defence of the oppressed and overtaxed subjects of Henry VII., he alone arose in a servile House of Commons to oppose the subsidy of three-fifteenths (or £113,000), which Henry had claimed, instead of the feudal aids; and "made such arguments and reasons there against that the King's demands were thereby overthrown," and but £30,000 granted him. Henry was greatly enraged when he learned that he had been foiled in his purposes by a "beardless boy," and imprisoned More's father in the Tower. For the next few years More dwelt in retirement from public life, married, and settled with his young wife in the house in Bucklersbury, where his children were born, and where Erasmus was afterwards his guest, and wrote the *Praise of Folly*.

Thus in the early years of the sixteenth century, the little fellowship of scholars, henceforth devoted to the New Learning and to Progress was already formed, but they were not yet fully equipped for their work, nor were the times ripe for their teaching. Colet, indeed, was made Dean of St. Paul's in 1505, and began the preaching of those famous sermons which contributed so much to the overthrow of the old orthodoxy; but Erasmus had yet scarcely freed himself from the fetters of Scholasticism, and More was in disgrace and retirement.

Yet their principles and aims were gradually becoming clear to them, and they were ready to turn to advantage the change

of affairs which must follow on the death of Henry VII. It will be well to pause and consider what they were really contending for. First and foremost they were Apostles of Culture. They felt that the superstition of the time, and the evils which beset Church and State, could never be effectually removed whilst the masses of the people were in dense ignorance, and the Old Learning, with its cumbrous weight of useless subtlety, reigned in the schools and colleges of the land.

It is hard for us now to realise the difficulties which in those days the scholar was forced to encounter from the beginning to the end of his training, and the mass of useless lumber with which his mind was overladen at the end of his painful course. The unfortunate child was sent to a school—described by Erasmus as a prison or a dungeon—in which a barbarous Latin was taught in a still more barbarous manner, and where he was mercilessly beaten, because, forsooth, "boys' spirits must be subdued." Leaving the school, and entering the university, the young man learned nothing "except Alexander, the Parva Logicalia (as they call them), with the old-established Readings on Aristotle, and the Questions of Scotus." Of these, Alexander was a ponderous rhymed grammar, and of the Parva Logicalia More jestingly remarked that it was called the Little Logicals from the little logic it contained.

Colet therefore initiated a great reforming movement when he devoted the fortune left him by his father to the establishment of a school in which children should be treated with kindness, and under able masters, and with improved school-books, should "proceed and grow," as he expressed it, "to perfect literature, and come at last to be great clerks." In 1512 St. Paul's school was opened, with Lilly for head-master, who drew up for the use of his pupils a greatly simplified Latin grammar, which afterwards formed the basis of that used at Eton.

More was right when he compared the school to the "wooden horse in which were concealed armed Greeks for the destruction of barbarous Troy;" for Colet's example was gradually followed throughout the country, and thus arose the numerous grammar schools which have ever since formed the backbone of middle-class education in England. The "Trojans," as the partisans of the Old Learning were called, were not inclined to yield without a struggle, and many sermons were preached against the New Studies, and noisy bands of students insulted and ill-treated the "Greeks." To such a height was the opposition carried that Henry VIII. at last interfered, openly espoused the cause of Culture, and by his orders imposed silence upon the "brawlers" at Oxford. One of these, who had vigorously condemned the new teaching, chanced to preach before the King, and took occasion to denounce Erasmus and his heresies. After the sermon he was ordered to wait upon the King, before whom More replied to all his arguments. Not being able to answer More, he fell upon his knees, begging the King's forgiveness, and pleading that he had been "carried away by the spirit." "But," said Henry, "that spirit was not the spirit of Christ, but of foolishness!" In reply to the King, he acknowledged that he had never read any of the works of Erasmus which he had been bitterly condemning. "Then you prove yourself to be a fool, for you condemn what you have never read!" said Henry. This sapient divine brought the conversation to a close by the remark, "After all, I am not so very hostile to Greek letters, because they were derived from the Hebrew!"

The devotion of the men of the New Learning to culture involved as its necessary consequence a freedom from dogmatic fetters, and, in men of earnest moral nature, a revolt against the superstition and immorality of the Church. Their attitude

towards the degrading superstitions of the time is well shown by More's letter to a monk, who had tried to persuade him to give up the new ideas, and points out that the teaching of Erasmus was heretical, inasmuch as he had allowed that the Fathers were often in error, had denied the accuracy of the Vulgate, repudiated the doctrines of Augustine, and condemned and derided the monks.

More ably defends the position of Erasmus, shows the absurdity of the opposite opinion, and says of the monks—"There are multitudes enough who would be afraid that the devil would come upon them, and take them alive to hell, if, forsooth, they were to set aside their usual garb, whom nothing can move when they are grasping at *money*. Are there only a few, think you, who would deem it to be a crime to be expiated with many tears, if they were to omit a line in their hourly prayers, and yet have no fearful scruple at all when they profane themselves by the worst and most infamous lives." He then relates an anecdote of the head of a convent, who had hired assassins to commit some crime, for which they were all at length brought to justice. "I heard," writes More, "from these wicked assassins that when they came to that religious man in his chamber, they had not spoken of the crime; but being introduced into his private chapel, they appeased the sacred Virgin by a salutation on their bent knees, according to the angelical custom. This being properly accomplished, they at length arose purely and piously to perpetrate the crime."

The same feeling is shown in all the writings of Erasmus, especially in the *Praise of Folly* and the famous *Colloquies*. In the second edition of his New Testament he wrote:—"Read the New Testament through, you will not find in it any precept which pertains to ceremonies. Where is there a single word of meat or vestments? Where is there any mention of feasts or

the like? Love alone he calls his precept. Ceremonies give rise to differences, but from love flows peace."

This zeal for science and culture, and for a pure religion based on reason and not on authority, which found expression in the foundation of the College of Physicians by Linacre, in Colet's school and sermons, and in the literary labours of Erasmus, was accompanied by a profound insight into the evils which were preying upon society, and a wide view of the reforms which were so urgently required.

What these men contended for was a complete regeneration of life on the basis of a rational view of the world, which would admit of no rigid dogmatism in any sphere, but regarding everything from the standpoint of historical evolution, thrust aside any system of thought or belief which claimed finality for itself, in favour of a free unshackled development of human thought and human life. Well may Mark Pattison say that "the principle that reason is the only guide of life, and the supreme arbiter of all questions, politics and religion included, has its earliest and most complete exemplar in Erasmus."

But it was in More that the various reforming tendencies, which found partial expression in a Linacre and a Colet, and were diffused throughout Europe by an Erasmus, were gathered together in their greatest force and intensity. The whole spirit of the New Learning breathes through the *Utopia*. This work of genius under the form of an interesting narrative, full of subtle irony, tender humour, and brilliant flashes of wit, gives full expression to the deepest insight of the scholarly fellowship and their aspirations for a New Order alike in trade, in politics, in social life, and in religion. Here, long before Locke, we find a plea for perfect toleration in matters of religion. King Utopus, we are told, made a decree in his country, "that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what

religion he would." This was based on the ground that it was both foolish and presumptuous to "compel all other by violence and threatenings to agree to the same that thou believest true;" and the hope that with freedom of controversy "the truth of its own power would at last issue and come to light." When we review the century and a half which followed the writing of the *Utopia*, and think of the fierce persecutions of the Protestants by the Catholics, and of the intolerance of one Protestant sect for another, we are amazed at the breadth of mind of the author, who could conceive of a noble worship which should unite instead of dividing men, and gather up their discordant tones into a grand and impressive harmony.

Three centuries before Bentham, More's Utopian philosophers had worked out the principles of Utilitarianism, pronouncing "no man to be so foolish, which would not do all his diligence and endeavour to obtain pleasure . . . only avoiding this inconvenience that the less pleasure should not be a let or hindrance to the bigger; or that he laboured not for that pleasure which should bring after it displeasure, grief, or sorrow." More even seems to have anticipated the step taken by John Stuart Mill—viz., the distinction between higher and lower, worthy and unworthy pleasures, which has been held by many to involve a denial of Utilitarian principles. The Utopians thought that some "things men by vain imagination do fain against nature to be pleasant," and so may "possess a false opinion of pleasure." Thus fine dress, vain applause, reputed nobility, the pleasure of the miser, gambler, and sportsman, "and all such like which be innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seeing there is no natural pleasantness in them, do plainly determine them to have no affinity with true and right pleasure."

The reforms in the criminal law, pressed upon Parliament by Sir Samuel Romilly in the early part of the present century, had been advocated by More in the beginning of the sixteenth. To-day the unskilled labourers in our great cities are agitating for some approach to the short hours of Utopia, where men are not "wearied from early in the morning to late in the evening with continual work, like labouring and toiling beasts," but the working day is of six hours only. Our modern demand for free and universal education was likewise anticipated by More. In Utopia every child is thoroughly educated, and ignorance, the great cause of crime and misery, banished.

No modern reformer has uttered a more scathing condemnation of the existing economic system, or emphasised more strongly the right of the labourer to the products of his industry, and the absolute dependence of the rich upon the poor, than this Lord Chancellor of England. After speaking of the Utopian state as "that which alone of good right may claim and take upon it the name of commonwealth," he continues—"Here now would I see, if any man dare be so bold as to compare with this equity, the justice of other nations; among whom, I forsake God, if I can find any sign or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this, that a rich goldsmith, or an usurer, or to be short any of them which either do nothing at all, or else that which they do is such that it is not very necessary to the Commonwealth, should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness or by unnecessary business, when in the meantime poor labourers, carters, ironsmiths, carpenters, and ploughmen, by so great and continual toil, as drawing and bearing beasts be scant able to sustain, and again so necessary toil, that without it no commonwealth were able to continue and endure one year, should get so hard and poor a living, and live so wretched and miserable a life,

that the state and condition of the labouring beasts may seem much better and wealthier. . . . And yet besides this the rich men not only by private fraud but also by common laws do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor some part of their daily living. . . . They invent and devise all means and manner of crafts, first how to keep safely without fear of losing that they have unjustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the work and labour of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices, when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed under colour of the commonalty, that is to say, also of the poor people, then they be made laws. . . . Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but *a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the Commonwealth.*"

The accession of the young Prince Henry VIII. in 1509 seemed a very auspicious event for the New Movement. Under a king who combined generous sympathies with a taste for learning, and who was the personal friend of More, Colet, and Erasmus, things could hardly fail to go on well.

More returned to active life and the duties of his profession, and speedily became a prosperous man. Henry, however, was showy and extravagant, jealous of the neighbouring princes, and burning to distinguish himself on the field of battle. By the sixth year of his reign he had involved the country in a useless and ignominious war, squandered the vast treasure left him by his father, and much that had been granted by Parliament besides. The Parliament of 1515 declared it impossible to collect the taxes necessary to replenish the exhausted exchequer. Of the £160,000 voted in the previous year, it had only been possible to collect £50,000, and even this

had only been raised by an income tax of sixpence in the pound, descending even to the wages of the wretched agricultural labourer. The balance was now made up by twice repeating the tax in a single year. Harsh statutes were re-enacted against the labourer, and wages fixed at a low rate by a rigid scale. Evictions were constantly taking place, and the people, thus reduced to homelessness and beggary, were being hanged in rows of twenty for theft! Parliament, though to the last degree obsequious and servile, was brow-beaten by the monarch, steadily growing more and more absolute, and intent only on personal aggrandizement, pleasure, and show.

In order to damage the trade of the Netherlands (with whose prince Henry was at variance), the exportation of wool from Norfolk to the Low Countries was prohibited. The merchants of London, anxious to get rid of this ruinous restriction upon their trade, contrived to have More added to the embassy which was sent over to the Low Countries in May 1515, to settle the dispute between Henry VIII. and Prince Charles. Having at length brought his part of the negotiations to a successful issue, More returned to England at the beginning of the new year. Whilst in Flanders he had written the second book of the *Utopia*, which contains an account of that country and its inhabitants.

It takes but little ingenuity to see that *Utopia* (making allowance for the wit and humour of the writer) is a picture of England as it should be, and a satire upon England as it actually was. The situation of Amaurot, the capital, is strangely like that of London, but what a contrast between its broad and handsome streets, its well-built and lofty houses, with their beautiful gardens, and the narrow, tortuous, ill-paved and ill-lighted streets; the low, dirty, and filthy houses of the horribly unsanitary London, with which More was familiar!

In *Utopia* there are no avaricious or wasteful tyrants like the Tudors of More's acquaintance, nor any wretched and overworked labourers, whose scanty earnings were taxed at the rate of sixpence in the pound twice in a single year. These, by a wise arrangement, all have enough, and yet leisure is granted to all for recreation and culture. How fine a satire on the splendour of Henry VIII. do we find in the description of the visit of the Anemolian ambassadors to Utopia! These, knowing that the Utopians dressed with great plainness, and ascribing it to their poverty, thought to make an impression upon them by the splendour of their clothing and jewellery. But the Utopians, with whom gold was a badge of infamy, and applied to the meanest uses, and gems playthings for children, treated them with derision. The very children, who had outgrown their delight in their toys, "when they saw the like sticking upon the ambassadors' caps, dig and push their mothers under the sides, saying thus to them, 'Look, mother, how great a lubber doth yet wear pearls and precious stones as though he were a little child still.' But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest, 'Peace, son,' saith she, 'I think he be one of the ambassador's fools.'"

Not to multiply instances, it is clear that in writing the *Utopia*, More's eye was always fixed on the England of his day, and his keen mind employed in detecting and satirising with light wit and biting irony the evils which were preying upon its vitals. Though the second book was written in Flanders, it was not published till after More's return to England.

He then wrote the first book, which was called forth by the peculiar situation in which he was placed. The King, with whom he had always been a favourite, and who thought very highly of his abilities, was endeavouring to induce him to enter his service, give up his City appointment,

and accept a pension in lieu of the revenue he acquired by the practice of his profession. He resisted as long as he could, and was finally, as Erasmus said, dragged into the King's service.

Before consenting to undertake the responsibilities which the King was anxious to force upon him, he thought it his duty to point out to him, with great plainness, the evils under which the kingdom was groaning, and suggest such remedies as appeared possible. He was also anxious to reveal to Henry the real views and aims of the man he was summoning to his councils. With these purposes in view, he wrote the first book of *Utopia*, in which his own opinions are put into the mouth of an ancient mariner, who had sailed from Europe with Vespucci. Being left behind, on the latter's return, he had travelled beyond the Equator into many strange and far countries, and at length had visited the island of Utopia. This man, Raphael Hythloday, is represented as being introduced to More by his friend, Peter Giles, of Antwerp, who arranges a meeting in a pleasant garden, where the two friends question Raphael about his adventures. They desire him to relate to them at length such things as he may have met with in the lands beyond the sea "as shall be profitable to be known." "But of monsters," says More, "because they be no news, of them were we nothing inquisitive. For nothing is more easy to be found than be barking Scyllas, ravening Cælenos, and Lœstrygonians devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters. But to find citizens ruled by good and wholesome laws, that is an exceeding rare and hard thing." Raphael relates his experiences and makes such wise reflections upon them, that he is pressed by both his hearers to enter the service of some Prince whom he might aid with his counsels and experience. He replies that, like More himself, he has

no wish to give himself in "bondage unto kings." Upon them still urging him that he owes it to mankind to give their rulers the benefit of his knowledge and wisdom, he shows that the attempt would be useless, since kings are set on conquest rather than good government. Furthermore, they are surrounded by flatterers, and those who lay such store by the wisdom of their ancestors, "as who should say it were a dangerous thing, if a man in any point should be found wiser than his forefathers were." More, still insisting that they might be rendered wiser by the presence of philosophers at court, Raphael, taking the French king as an example, asks of what use it would be to try and dissuade him from attempting the conquest of Italy or Flanders, or to recommend him to follow the example of a people whom he had met with in his travels, and voluntarily give up a useless conquest.

Instancing many other examples of wise laws and customs which he had observed in the lands he had visited, and which it was vain to expect that the princes of Europe would copy, he is led to speak of the country in which more than anywhere else he had found just laws and a flourishing commonwealth, the happy island of Utopia. Being eagerly requested by his hearers to give them a full account of its polity, he promises to content them after dinner, and then delivers the discourse forming the second book.

No political writer has ever shown a profounder insight into the evils under which society groans than has More in this masterly introduction. It remains a monument to his political acuteness and his practical sagacity, as well as to his high sense of duty and noble fearlessness in the cause of right and justice. It is to-day our great authority for the social and economic condition of the England of the Tudor kings. With unerring skill he places his finger on the wounds of the body politic,

and points out with clearness the true causes of its sufferings. He sketches in a powerful way the rapid economic changes which were in progress, and which were so fruitful in misery and crime.

Thus, clearly and without the least flattery, but with taste and wit, does the man whom the King is taking to his councils expose the real evils under which his realm is suffering, and the folly and wrong of which he himself is guilty. Henry, however, took it all in good part, and More was a greater favourite with him than ever. He even seems, for a time, to have taken some of Raphael's counsel to heart, for it is noteworthy that one of More's first duties as a royal servant was the negotiation of a treaty with France, by which Henry voluntarily surrendered his conquests in that country. It was also by More's advice that Wolsey made some retrenchment in the national expenditure.

The influence of the little group of scholars was now at its height. The very year in which More published the *Utopia*, Erasmus published his New Testament (dedicated to Pope Leo X.), and wrote his *Christian Prince* for the instruction of Charles V. With More the trusted friend of Henry VIII.; Erasmus the instructor of the future Emperor, and the friend of the Pope; Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, and his patron, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, it might seem as if the New Movement were certain of success. But clouds were slowly gathering in many directions. The writings of More and Erasmus had indeed aroused the mind of Europe, and awakened aspiration for a pure religion and a righteous polity; but elements of reaction were already beginning to show themselves, and a new dogmatism in religion, and a policy of cynical statescraft and unscrupulous tyranny were being advocated by men of great power and ability.

Macchiavelli was writing his *Principe* whilst More was

engaged on the *Utopia*, and a twelvemonth after the publication of the latter work Luther was nailing his Theses on the church door at Wittenberg.

Cromwell was soon to take the place of More in the favour of the King, and the progressive policy of the author of the *Utopia* to be succeeded by the arbitrary despotism of the monarch, under the direction of this unscrupulous pupil of Macchiavelli.

The new religious dogmatism was fast invading the land. Men who had escaped the fetters of the schoolmen, hastened to fling themselves at the feet of Augustine, and the rigid and terrible doctrines of Calvin were looming in the future. The New Movement for culture and progressive reform in Church and State was destined to failure and defeat, and its adherents either joined the Protestant Movement, or fell back into the ranks of an intolerant Catholicism. Latimer may be taken as a type of the first class, More unfortunately is an instance of the second. With all the advantages which it possessed, we are tempted to wonder that the movement initiated by More and Erasmus apparently accomplished so little, and that dogmatism and tyranny took the place of their rational religious and political reforms. How did it come about that the political text-book of Europe was not More's *Utopia*, but the *Prince* of Macchiavelli, and the new religious leaders a Luther and a Calvin rather than a Colet and an Erasmus? One reason seems clear, they were too far in advance of their age. The ideas which roused the enthusiasm of these men of insight and genius were powerless to attract their ignorant or narrow-minded contemporaries. They failed from lack of an educated and enlightened public to whom they might appeal. Scholars and thinkers here and there throughout Europe might be moved by their teaching, but the masses of the people, though profoundly dissatisfied with the state of the church, and

groaning under the oppression of the princes, were still grossly ignorant, still in bondage to superstition.

But if the movement failed because it was too radical, it may with equal justice be maintained that it failed also because it was too aristocratic and conservative. The reformers had access to the ears of kings and princes. Their treatises, written in Latin, were eagerly read by scholars throughout Europe. If reform could be effected by paternal legislation, and be initiated by scholars without requiring the sympathy and co-operation of the people, theirs had the fairest chance. If it were possible to pour new wine into old bottles with success, to infuse a new life into effete social structures, their movement surely ought to have won the field.

The hopelessness of this course was shown by the persecution of Colet by his bishop, and the ever-increasing despotism of the King in spite of the counsel of More. It would seem that reform to be effective must be democratic, and not paternal; it must be the outcome of the national aspirations, and lie in the course of economic development. And though such reform must ever be partial and unsatisfactory when compared with the ideal in the mind of the scholar, yet it is realised in the actual world; it is the property of the whole people, who rejoice in their handiwork, and it may form the stepping-stone for a further advance.

The chief object of the men of the New Learning, that on which their heart was set before aught else, was however not destined to failure. Their noble battle for culture has never ceased. Never, as Ibsen has taught us, will democracy be satisfactory till we have learned "*to make every man in the land a nobleman.*" To this great work of educating and ennobling the people, More, Erasmus, and the rest devoted their lives. To this they gave an impetus which has never died away, but has

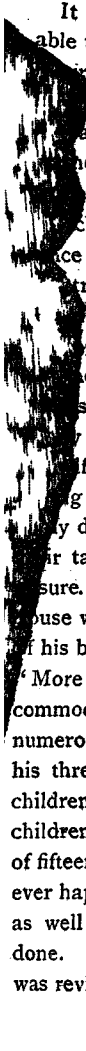
gone on gathering strength and volume as the years have rolled by, and century has succeeded century. Fundamentally, therefore, the New Movement could not fail, and has not failed. We are feeling its power to-day, when the influence of the more popular and apparently successful movement seems fast ebbing away.

More continued in high favour with the King, who took such pleasure in his society that he had to feign stupidity in order to get time to be other than "a stranger in his own house." Having been knighted by the King, he successively filled the offices of Treasurer of the Exchequer and Speaker of the House of Commons. In this latter capacity he fearlessly faced the wrath of the all-powerful Wolsey in defence of the oppressed, and in opposition to the imposition of fresh taxes on the already impoverished people, even as twenty years previously he had faced the anger of the King in the same cause. Though Wolsey was greatly annoyed, More succeeded both in defeating the grant which he had demanded and in retaining the favour of the King, by whom he was advanced to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and at length, at the age of fifty-one, created Lord Chancellor of England. This post he held for less than three years, resigning it rather than consent to the divorce of Queen Catherine. He left this high post a poor man, a rare thing in those days, when the taking of bribes was common. Though his income was now but £100 a year, he magnanimously refused the gift of £5000 offered him by Convocation for his defence of the church against heresy. The violence of the Protestants, who were for sweeping away the old order in the church entirely, destroying, as More thought, the good along with the bad, and leading to lawlessness and anarchy, alarmed the conservative instincts which formed so

marked a feature in his character. This, added to the disgust which, as a broad-minded thinker, he conceived for the new dogmatism, drove him into the arms of reaction, and we now find him a persecutor of heretics and a writer of bitter pamphlets against Tyndall and the other reformers. He lived in retirement for some time, till in 1534 the Act of Supremacy was passed and the oath tendered.

In spite of entreaties and threats, More steadfastly refused to take it, and, as a consequence, soon ended his life on the scaffold. Roper draws a touching picture of his last days, his brave resistance to the King's will, his inward conflict, and ultimate victory. "Son Roper," he exclaimed as the boat floated down the river to Lambeth Palace, where the oath was to be tendered him, "I thank our Lord the field is won." He withstood all temptations to do violence to his conscience like a saint, and met his doom like a hero. Yet with all our admiration we are but half satisfied. That the foremost champion of the New Learning, the author of the *Utopia*, the man who could dream of the tolerant religion and enlightened philosophy of its inhabitants, should fall in his later years into the arms of a reactionary Catholicism and fear to follow the voice of his earlier convictions, is very saddening.

But if More, disgusted with the partial yet violent reformation of the Protestants, which, in the interest of a new dogmatism, seemed to him to sweep away in one fierce and undistinguishing flood the good and evil of the old religion, became reactionary in his religious views, there is no evidence to show that his views on political and social questions underwent any change. His public life throughout was inspired by a love of justice and a spirit of resistance to oppression in every form. Though he could effect but little for the cause of freedom, he was ever ready to speak, act, or suffer for her sake.



It was
able to his private life, which he was in a greater degree
re r in accordance with his convictions, that the true
the man was revealed. This was singularly pure,
and noble, and free from that Puritanic gloom and
ness which threw its dark pall over the lives of so many
nd's worthies of a later day. He was tenderly attached
children, to whom he wrote most affectionately in his
ce from home, and who received from him "more kisses
ripes." *Utopia* was but the author's home writ large.
utiful house, on the river-side at Chelsea, was, through
ght in social life and music, and through the wit and
ent of his nature, a dwelling of joy and mirth as well
study and thought. It often rang with song, and was
with the laughter of children and grandchildren, he
f, in his own words, "being merry, jocund, and pleasant
g them." Erasmus, who was often his guest, has given us
y delightful glimpses of his family life, of his children and
r tasks, and the monkey and rabbits which amused their
sure. To the solitary and ever-wandering Erasmus, More's
use was a haven of refuge from the discomforts and vexations
his bachelor existence. In one of his epistles he writes :—
'More has built near London, upon the Thames, a modest yet commodious mansion. There he lives, surrounded by his numerous family, including his wife, his son, and his son's wife, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so affectionate to his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as if she were a girl of fifteen. Such is the excellence of his disposition that whatever happeneth that could not be helped, he is as cheerful and as well pleased as though the best thing possible had been done. In More's house you would say that Plato's academy was revived again, only, whereas in the academy the discussion

turned upon geometry and the power of numbers, Chelsea is a veritable school of Christian religio none, man or woman, but readeth or studieth the li yet is their chief care of piety. There is never any s the head of the house governs it, not by a lofty carriag rebukes, but by gentleness and amiable manners. member is busy in his place, performing his duty with a nor is sober mirth wanting."

More's book and his life alike give evidence of the and depth of his nature. He penetrates beneath the of things, and with the quick insight of genius dete evils which are concealed from the superficial obse the crust of convention and custom, and the outward and splendour of society. With a fine sagacity, he ind the remedies which alone can cure them, and give heal vigour to the body politic. With deep moral earnes he endeavours to shape his own private and family lif accordance with insight and conscience, so that, though may perchance fail in accomplishing the reforms he desired the larger world, he may, at least, order the life of his hous hold by the law of reason and love. More found, indeed, th true commonwealth Nowhere. But in so far the social orde he advocated is based on reason and justice, the nowhere must at length become somewhere—nay, everywhere. Some of the reforms which he perceived to be necessary have, as we have seen, already been realised, others are being striven for to-day. May we not hope that many more will at length be attained? Surely never before was there such a wide-spread revolt against social wrong and injustice; such a firm resolve to remove the preventable evils of life; or such a world-wide aspiration for a reorganisation of society on a juster basis. It cannot be that the promise of better things is for ever to

remain unfulfilled! From the summit of the hills of thought may we not catch the first faint streaks of the dawn of a nobler day? Can we not trace the dim outlines of a real Society slowly forming amongst us, in which none shall be disinherited or trodden under foot in a senseless and reckless race for wealth, but where all shall be truly free to develop the full capacity of their nature, in co-operation with their fellows for a Common Good? Be this as it may, those cannot be wrong who, like More, strive for justice in all social relationships, and carry the spirit of brotherhood into the details of their everyday life, for though the Ideal Commonwealth does not exist on earth, yet will not the true-hearted man say with More's great master of a former age, "In heaven there is laid up a pattern of it methinks, which he who desires may behold, and beholding may set his own house in order. But whether such an one exists, or ever will exist in fact, is no matter, for he will live after the manner of that city, having nothing to do with any other."

MAURICE ADAMS.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

MORE'S *Utopia* was written in Latin, and passed through several editions in that language. It was first translated into English by Ralph Robinson. The text made use of in this volume is the second and revised edition of his translation published in 1556.

The Life of Sir Thomas More, by Roper, was written during the Catholic reaction in Mary's reign, and for a long time existed only in MS. It was first printed in Paris in 1626, and reprinted by Hearne in 1716. His edition is the one chosen for the present volume. It is the chief authority for the events of More's life, though additional facts may be gleaned from Stapleton's life. The life written by More's great-grandson, Creasacre More, is chiefly derived from the above mentioned. Where it differs from them it is unreliable.

The "Life of Edward V." is a part of the larger historical work, the "History of Richard III.," which More left unfinished, and is specially interesting as being, as Green points out, the first History ever written by an Englishman, its predecessors being mere chronicles.

All these works being in archaic spelling, they have been modernised for the present text, a modern equivalent being occasionally substituted for some quite obsolete word.

M. A.

LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

THE LIFE OF S^R THOMAS MORE.

In hoc ✠ *signo vinces.*

FORASMUCH as Sir Thomas More, Knight sometime Lord Chancellor of England, a man of singular virtue and of a clear unspotted conscience, (as witnesseth Erasmus,) more pure and white than the whitest snow, and of such an angelical wit, as England, he saith, never had the like before, nor never shall again, universally, as well in the laws of our Realm (a study in effect able to occupy the whole life of a man) as in all other sciences, right well studied, was in his days accounted a man worthy famous memory; I William Roper (though most unworthy) his son-in-law by marriage of his eldest daughter, knowing no one man that of him and of his doings understood so much as myself for that I was continually resident in his house by the space of sixteen years and more, thought it therefore my part to set forth such matters touching his life as I could at this present call to remembrance. Among which very many notable things not meet to have been forgotten, through negligence and long continuance of time, are slipped out of my mind. Yet to the intent the same shall not all utterly perish, I have at the desire of divers worshipful friends of mine, though very far from the grace and worthiness of them, nevertheless as far forth as my mean wit, memory and learning would serve me, declared so much thereof as in my poor judgment seemed worthy to be remembered.

This Sir Thomas More after he had been brought up in the Latin tongue at St. Anthony's in London, he was, by his father's procurement received into the house of the right reverend, wise and learned prelate Cardinal Morton, where (though he was young of years, yet) would he at Christmas-tide suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers-on more sport than all the players beside. In whose wit and towardness the Cardinal much delighting, would often say of him unto the nobles that divers times dined with him, "This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man." Whereupon for his learning he placed him at Oxford, where when he was both in the Greek and Latin tongue sufficiently instructed, he was then for the study of the law of the Realm put to an Inn of the Chancery, called New Inn, where for his time, he very well prospered. And from thence was committed to Lincoln's Inn, with very small allowance, continuing there his study until he was made and accounted a worthy utter barrister. After this, to his great commendation, he read for a good space a public lecture of St. Augustine *de Civitate Dei* in the church of St. Laurence in the Old Jewry, whereunto there resorted Doctor Grocyn, an excellent cunning man, and all the chief learned of the city of London. Then was he made Reader of Furnival's Inn, so remaining by the space of three years and more. After which time he gave himself to devotion and prayer in the Charterhouse of London, religiously living there without vow about four years, until he resorted to the house of one Mr. Colt, a gentleman of Essex that had oft invited him thither, having three daughters whose honest conversation and virtuous education provoked him there especially to set his affection. And albeit

his mind most served him to the second daughter, for that he thought her the fairest and best favoured, yet when he considered that it would be both great grief and some shame also to the eldest to see her younger sister in marriage preferred before her, he then of a certain pity framed his fancy towards her, and soon after married her, nevertheless not discontinuing his study of the law at Lincoln's Inn, but applying still the same until he was called to the Bench, and had read twice, which is as often as any judge of the law doth read.

Before which time he had placed himself and his wife at Bucklesbury in London, where he had by her three daughters, in virtue and learning brought up from their youth, whom he would often exhort to take virtue and learning for their meat, and play but for their sauce.

Who ere ever he had been reader in Court was in the latter time of King Henry the Seventh made a Burgess in the Parliament, wherein there were by the King demanded (as I have heard it reported) about three-fifteenths for the marriage of his eldest daughter, that then should be the Scottish Queen. At the last debating whereof he made such arguments and reasons there against, that the King's demands were thereby overthrown. So that one of the King's privy chamber, named Mr. Tyler, being present thereat, brought word to the King out of the Parliament house, that a beardless boy had disappointed all his purposes. Whereupon the King conceiving great indignation towards him could not be satisfied until he had some way revenged it. And forasmuch as he nothing having, nothing could lose, his grace devised a causeless quarrel against his Father, keeping him in the Tower until he had paid him an hundred pounds fine. Shortly hereupon it fortuned that this Sir Thomas More coming in a

suit to Dr. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, one of the King's privy council, they called him aside, and pretending great favour towards him, promised him that if he would be ruled by him, he would not fail but into the King's favour again to restore him, meaning, as it was after conjectured, to cause him thereby to confess his offence against the King, whereby his Highness might with better colour have occasion to revenge his displeasure against him. But when he came from the Bishop, he fell in communication with one Mr. Whitford, his familiar friend, then chaplain to that Bishop and after a Father of Sion, and showed him what the Bishop had said unto him, desiring to have his advice therein, who for the passion of God prayed him in no wise to follow his counsel "for my Lord my Master (quoth he) to serve the King's turn will not stick to agree to his own father's death." So Sir Thomas More returned to the Bishop no more. And had not the King soon after died, he was determined to have gone over the sea, thinking that being in the King's indignation he could not live in England without great danger. After he was made one of the under-sheriffs of London, by which office and his learning together as I have heard him say, he gained without grief not so little as four hundred pounds by the year; since there was at that time in none of the Prince's courts of the laws of this realm any matter of importance in controversy wherein he was not with the one party of counsel. Of whom, for his learning, wisdom, and knowledge and experience, men had him in such estimation, that before he was come to the service of King Henry the Eighth, at the suit and instance of the English Merchants, he was, by the King's consent, made twice Ambassador in certain great causes between them and the Merchants of the Stilliard, whose wise and discreet dealing therein to his high

commendation, coming to the King's understanding, provoking his Highness to cause Cardinal Wolsey (then Lord Chancellor) to procure him to his service. And albeit the Cardinal according to the King's request earnestly travailed with him therefore, among many other his persuasions alleging unto him, how dear his service must needs be unto his Majesty, which could not of his honour with less than he should yearly lose thereby seem to recompense him, yet he, loath to change his estate, made such means to the King by the Cardinal to the contrary, that his Grace for that time was well satisfied. Now happened there after this a great ship of his that then was Pope to arrive at Southampton, which the King claiming for a forfeiture, the Pope's Ambassador by suit unto his Grace obtained, that he might for his Master the Pope have counsel learned in the Laws of this realm, and the matter in his own presence (being himself a singular civilian) in some public place to be openly heard and discussed. At which time there could none of our law be found so meet to be of counsel with this Ambassador as Sir Thomas More, who could report to the Ambassador in Latin all the reasons and arguments by the learned counsel on both sides alleged. Upon this the Councillors on either party in presence of the Lord Chancellor, and other the judges in the Star Chamber, had audience accordingly. Where Sir Thomas More not only declared to the Ambassador the whole effect of all their opinions, but also in defence on the Pope's side argued so learnedly himself, that both was the foresaid forfeiture to the Pope restored, and himself among all the hearers, for his upright and commendable demeanour therein, so greatly renowned, that for no entreaty would the King from henceforth be induced any longer to forbear his service. At whose first entry thereunto he made him Master of the Requests, having then

no better room void, and within a month after, knight and one of his Privy Council, and so from time to time was by the Prince advanced, continuing in his singular favour and trusty service twenty years and above, a good part whereof used the King upon holidays, when he had done his own devotions to send for him into his private room, and there some time in matters of Astronomy, Geometry, Divinity, and such other Faculties, and some time in his worldly affairs, to sit and confer with him, and other whiles would he in the night have him up into the leads, there to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions, and operations of the stars and planets. And because he was of a pleasant disposition, it pleased the King and Queen, after the Council had supped, at the time of their supper for their pleasure commonly to call for him, and to be merry with them. When he perceived so much in his talk to delight, that he could not once in a month get leave to go home to his wife and children (whose company he most desired) and to be absent from the Court two days together, but that he should be thither sent for again, he much misliking this restraint of liberty, began thereupon somewhat to dissemble his nature, and so by little and little from his former mirth to disuse himself, that he was of them from thenceforth no more so ordinarily sent for. Then died one Mr. Weston, Treasurer of the Exchequer, whose office after his death the King of his own offer, without any asking, freely gave unto Sir Thomas More. In the fourteenth year of his Grace's Reign was there a Parliament holden, whereof Sir Thomas More was chosen Speaker, who being very loath to take that Room upon him, made an oration, not now extant, to the King's Highness for his discharge thereof. Whereunto when the King would not consent, he spake unto his Grace in form following: "Since I perceive (most redoubted sovereign)

that it standeth not with your Highness' pleasure to reform this election, and cause it to be changed, but have, by the mouth of the Right Reverend Father in God the Legate your Highness' Chancellor, thereunto given your most royal consent, and have of your benignity determined, far above that I may bear, to enable me, and for this office to repute me meet, rather than ye should seem to impute unto your Commons that they had unmeetly chosen, I am therefore, and always shall be, ready obediently to conform myself to the accomplishment of your high commandment. In my most humble wise beseeching your most noble Majesty, that I may, with your Grace's favour, before I farther enter thereunto, make mine humble intercession unto your Highness for two lowly petitions, the one privately concerning myself, the other the whole assembly of your Common House. And for myself (Gracious Sovereign) that if it mishap me in anything hereafter, that is in the behalf of your Commons in your high presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and for lack of good utterance by me misrehearsed, to pervert or impair the prudent instructions, that it may then like your most noble Majesty of your abundant grace, with the eye of your accustomed pity, to pardon my simplicity, giving me leave again to repair to the Common House, and there to confer with them, and to take their substantial advice, what thing, and in what wise I shall on their behalf utter and speak before your noble Grace: to the intent their prudent advices and affairs be not by my simpleness and folly hindered or impaired. Which thing if it should so hap, as it were well likely to mishap in me (if your Grace's benignity relieved not my oversight) it could not fail to be, during my life, a perpetual grudge and heaviness to my heart. The help and remedy whereof in manner aforesaid remembered, is (most

Gracious Sovereign) my first lowly suit and humble petition unto your most noble Grace. Mine other humble request, most excellent Prince, is this. Forasmuch as there be of your Commons here, by your high commandment assembled for your Parliament, a great number which are after the accustomed manner appointed in the Common House to treat and advise of the common affairs among themselves apart: and albeit (my liege Lord) that, according to your prudent advice, by your honourable writs everywhere declared, there hath been as due diligence used in sending up to your Highness' Court of Parliament the most discreet persons out of every quarter, that men could esteem meet thereto, whereby it is not to be doubted but that there is a very substantial assembly of right wise and politic persons: yet (most victorious Prince) since among so many wise men, neither is every man wise alike, nor among so many men like well witted, every man like well spoken; and it ofteneth happeneth, that likewise as much folly is uttered with painted polished speeches, so many boisterous and rude in language see deep indeed, and give right substantial counsel: and since also in matters of great importance the mind is often so occupied in the matter, that a man rather studieth what to say, than how; by what reason whereof the wisest man and best spoken in a country fortuneth among, while his mind is fervent on the matter, somewhat to speak in such wise, as he would afterward wish to have been uttered otherwise, and yet no worse will had when he spake it, than he hath when he would so gladly change it: Therefore (most Gracious Sovereign) considering that in all your high Courts of Parliament is nothing entreated but of matters of weight and importance concerning your Realm, and your own Royal estate, it could not fail to let and put to silence from the giving of their advice and counsel many of your discreet

Commons [except they] were utterly discharged of all doubt and fear how anything that should happen them to speak, should happen of your Highness to be taken: and in this point your well-known benignity putteth every man in right good hope. Yet such is the weight of the matter, such is the reverend dread that the timorous hearts of your natural subjects conceive towards your high Majesty (our most redoubted King and undoubted Sovereign) that they cannot in this point find themselves satisfied, except your gracious bounty herein declared put away the scruple of their timorous minds, and animate and encourage them out of doubt. It may therefore like your most abundant Grace (our most gracious King) to give to all your Commons here assembled your most gracious licence and pardon freely, without doubt of your dreadful displeasure, every man to discharge his conscience, and boldly in everything incident among, declare his advice, and whatsoever happeneth any man to say, it may like your noble Majesty of your inestimable goodness to take all in good part, interpreting every man's words, how uncunningly soever they be couched, to proceed yet of a good zeal towards the profit of your Realm and honour of your Royal person, the prosperous estate and preservation whereof (most excellent Sovereign) is the thing which we all your most humble loving subjects, according to the most bounden duty of our natural allegiance, most highly desire and pray for." At this Parliament Cardinal Wolsey found himself much grieved with the Burgesses thereof, for that nothing was so soon done or spoken therein, but that it was immediately blown abroad in every alehouse. It fortuned at that Parliament a very great subsidy to be demanded, which the Cardinal fearing it would not pass the Common House, determined for the furtherance thereof, to be there present himself; before whose coming

after long debating there, whether it were better but with a few of his Lords (as the most opinion of the house was) or with a whole train royally to receive him there amongst them, "Masters," quoth Sir Thomas More, "forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately, you note well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues for things uttered out of this house, it shall not be amiss in my mind to receive him with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, his pollaxes, his crosses, his hat, and great seal too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us hereafter, we may be the bolder from ourselves to lay the blame upon those that his Grace bringeth with him." Whereunto the House wholly agreeing, he was received accordingly. Where after he had in a solemn oration by many reasons proved how necessary it was the demands there moved to be granted, and further said that less would not serve the King's purpose; he seeing the company still silent, and thereunto nothing answering, and contrary to his expectation showing in themselves towards his requests no towardness of inclination, said unto them: "Masters, ye have many wise and learned men among you, and seeing I am from the King's own person sent hither unto you for the preservation of yourselves and all the Realm, I think it meet you give me a reasonable answer." Whereat every man holding his peace, then began he to speak to one Mr. Marney, who making him no answer neither, he severally asked the same question of divers others accounted the wisest of the company. To whom when none of them all would give so much as one word, being before agreed, as the custom was, by their speaker to make answer: "Masters," quoth the Cardinal, "unless it be the manner of your house (as of likelihood it is) in such causes to utter your minds by the mouth of your speaker, whom ye have chosen for trusty and wise (as indeed he is) here is

without doubt a marvellous obstinate silence;" and thereupon required the answer of Mr. Speaker, who reverently upon his knees excusing the silence of the house, abashed at the presence of so noble a personage, able to amaze the wisest and best learned in a realm, and after by many reasons proving, that for them to make answer was it neither expedient, nor agreeable with the ancient liberty of the House; in conclusion for himself showed, that though they had all with their voices trusted him, yet except every of them could put into his own head all their several wits, he alone in so weighty a matter was unmeet to make his Grace answer. Whereupon the Cardinal displeased with Sir Thomas More, that had not in this Parliament in all things satisfied his desire, suddenly arose and departed: and after the Parliament ended, uttered unto him all his griefs, saying, "Would to God you had been at Rome, Mr. More, when I made you Speaker." "Your Grace not offended, so would I too, my Lord," quoth he, and to wind such quarrels out of the Cardinal's head, he began to talk of that gallery at Hampton Court, wherewith so wisely brake he off the Cardinal's displeasant talk, the Cardinal at that present, as it seemed, wist not what more to say to him, but for revengement of his displeasure counselled the King to send him Ambassador into Spain, commending unto his Highness his wisdom, learning, and meetness for that voyage, and the difficulty of the cause considered, none was there so well able, he said, to serve his Grace therein. Which when the King had broken to Sir Thomas More, and that he had declared unto his Grace, how unfit a journey it was for him, the nature of the country and disposition of his complexion so disagreeing together, that he should never be likely to do his Grace acceptable service therein, knowing right well that if his Grace sent him thither,

he should send him to his grave; but showing himself nevertheless ready according to his duty, albeit with the loss of his life, to fulfil his Grace's pleasure therein, the King allowing well his answer, said unto him, "It is not our meaning, Mr. More, to do you hurt, but to do you good we would be glad. We therefore for this purpose will devise upon some other, and employ your service otherwise." And such entire favour did the King bear him, that he made him Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, upon the death of Sir Richard Winfield, who had that office before. And for the pleasure he took in his company, would his Grace suddenly sometimes come home to his house at Chelsea to be merry with him, whither on a time unlooked for he came to dinner, and after dinner in a fair garden of his walked with him by the space of an hour holding his arm about his neck. As soon as his Grace was gone, I rejoicing, told Sir Thomas More, how happy he was, whom the King had so familiarly entertained, as I had never seen him do to any before, except Cardinal Wolsey, whom I saw his Grace once walk with arm in arm. "I thank our Lord, son," quoth he, "I find his Grace my very good lord indeed, and I do believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this Realm. Howbeit (son Roper) I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof. For if my head would win him a castle in France (for then there was wars between us) it should not fail to go." This Sir Thomas More, among all other his virtues, was of such meekness, that if it had fortuned him with any learned man resorting to him from Oxford, Cambridge, or elsewhere, as there did divers, some for the desire of his acquaintance, some for the famous report of his learning and wisdom, and some for suits of the Universities, to have entered into argument, wherein few were

comparable to him, and so far to have discoursed with them therein, that he might perceive they could not, without some inconvenience, hold out much further disputation against him: then, least he should discomfort them, as he that sought not his own glory, but rather would seem conquered than to discourage students in their studies, ever showing himself more desirous to learn than to teach, would he by some witty device courteously break off into some other matters and give over. Of whom for his wisdom and learning had the King such an opinion, that at such time as he attended upon his Highness, taking his progress either to Oxford or Cambridge, where he was received with very eloquent orations, his Grace would always assign him (as one that was most prompt, and ready therein) *ex tempore* to make answer thereunto; whose manner was, whensoever he had any occasion, either here or beyond the sea to be in any University, not only to be present at the reading and disputations there commonly used, but also learnedly to dispute among them himself. Who being Chancellor of the Duchy, was made ambassador twice; joined in commission with Cardinal Wolsey once to the Emperor Charles into Flanders, the other time to the French King into France. Not long after this the Water Bailiff of London (sometime his servant) hearing, where he had been at dinner, certain merchants liberally to rail against his old master, waxed so discontented therewith, that he hastily came to him, and told him what he had heard: "and were I, Sir" (quoth he) "in such favour and authority with my Prince as you are, such men surely should not be suffered so villainously and falsely to mis-report and slander me. Wherefore I would wish you to call them before you, and, to their shame, for their lewd malice to punish them." Who smiling upon him said, "Mr. Water

Bailiff, would you have me punish them by whom I receive more benefit than by you all that be my friends? Let them a God's name speak as lewdly as they list of me, and shoot never so many arrows at me, so long as they do not hit me, what am I the worse? But if they should once hit me, then would it a little trouble me: howbeit, I trust, by God's help, there shall none of them all be able once to touch me. I have more cause, Mr. Water Bailiff (I assure thee) to pity them, than to be angry with them." Such fruitful communication had he oftentimes with his familiar friends. So on a time walking along the Thames side with me at Chelsea, in talking of other things, he said to me, "Now would to God, son Roper, upon condition three things were well established in Christendom, I were put in a sack, and here presently cast into the Thames." "What great things be these, Sir," quoth I, "that should move you so to wish?" "Wouldest thou know, son Roper, what they be?" quoth he. "Yea marry, Sir, with a good will if it please you," quoth I. "I faith, they be these, son," quoth he. "The first is, that whereas the most part of Christian princes be at mortal wars, they were at universal peace. The second, that where the Church of Christ is at this present sore afflicted with many heresies and errors, it were well settled in an uniformity of religion. The third, that where the King's matter of his marriage is now come into question, it were to the glory of God and quietness of all parties brought to a good conclusion:" whereby, as I could gather, he judged, that otherwise it would be a disturbance to a great part of Christendom. Thus did it by his doings throughout the whole course of his life appear, that all his travails and pains, without respect of earthly commodities, either to himself or any of his, were only upon the service of God, the Prince and the Realm,

wholly bestowed and employed; whom in his latter time I heard to say, that he never asked of the King himself the value of one penny. As Sir Thomas More's custom was daily, if he were at home, besides his private prayers with his children, to say the seven psalms, litany, and suffrages following, was his guise nightly, before he went to bed, with his wife, children, and household to go to his chapel, and there upon his knees ordinarily to say certain psalms and collects with them: and because he was desirous for godly purposes some time to be solitary, and sequester himself from worldly company; a good distance from his mansion house builded he a place, called the new building, wherein was a chapel, a library, and a gallery, in which as his use was upon other days to occupy himself in prayer and study together, so on the Fridays there usually continued he from morning unto evening, spending his time duly in devout prayers, and spiritual exercises; and to provoke his wife and children to the desire of heavenly things, he would sometimes use these words unto them. "It is now no mastery for you children to go to heaven. For everyb dy giveth you good counsel, everybody giveth you good exam le. You see virtue rewarded, and vice punished, so that you are carried up to heaven even by the chins. But if you live in the time, that no man will give you good counsel, nor no man will give you good example, when you shall see virtue punished, and vice rewarded, if you will then stand fast, and firmly stick to God upon pain of life, if you be but half good, God will allow you for whole good." If his wife or any of his children had been diseased, or troubled, he would say to them, "We may not look at our pleasure to go to heaven in feather beds, it is not the way. For our Lord himself went thither with great pain, and by many tribulations, which is the path wherein he

walked thither, and the servant may not look to be in better case than his Master." And as he would in this sort persuade them to take their troubles patiently, so would he in like case teach them to withstand the devil and his temptations, valiantly saying, "Whosoever will mark the devil and his temptations shall find him therein much like to an ape. For as an ape not well looked to will be busy and bold to do shrewd turns, and contrariwise being spied will suddenly leap back and adventure no farther: so the devil, seeing a man idle, slothful, and without resistance ready to receive his temptations, waxeth so hardy that he will not fail still to continue with him, until to his purpose he hath brought him: but on the other side, if he see a man with diligence present to prevent and withstand his temptations, he waxeth so weary, that in conclusion he forsaketh him. For as much as the devil by disposition is a spirit of nature so envious, that he feareth any more to assault him, lest that he should thereby not only catch a foul fall himself, but also minister to the man more matter of merit." Thus delighted he evermore not only in virtuous exercises to be occupied himself, but also to exhort his wife, and children, and household to embrace and follow the same. To whom for his notable virtue and godliness God showed, as he seemed, a manifest miraculous token of his special favour towards him, at such time as my wife (as many others that year were) was sick of the sweating sickness, who lying in so great extremity of that disease, as by no invention or devices, that physicians in such case commonly use (of whom she had divers, both expert, wise, and well learned, then continually attendant upon her) she could be kept from sleep: so that both physicians, and all others despaired her health and recovery, and gave her over: her father (as he that most entirely tendered her) being in no small heaviness for her, by

prayer at God his hands sought to get remedy, whereupon after his usual manner going up into his new lodging, there in his chapel upon his knees with tears most devoutly besought Almighty God, that it would be like his goodness, unto whom nothing was impossible, if it were his blessed will, at his mediation to vouchsafe graciously to hear his petition; where incontinent came into his mind, that a glister should be the only way to help her, which when he had told the physicians, they by-and-by confessed, that if there were any hope of health, that it was the very best help indeed, much marvelling of themselves, that they had not afore remembered it. Then it was immediately ministered unto her sleeping, which she could by no means have been brought unto waking, and albeit after she was thereby thoroughly awaked, God's marks, evident undoubted token of death, plainly appeared upon her, yet she (contrary to all their expectation) was (as it was thought) by her father's fervent prayer miraculously recovered, and at length again to perfect health restored, whom if it had pleased God at that time to have taken to his mercy, her father said he would never have meddled with worldly matters after. Now while Sir Thomas More was Chancellor of the Duchy, the See of Rome chanced to be void, which was cause of much trouble. For Cardinal Wolsey, a man very ambitious, and desirous (as good hope, and likelihood he had) to aspire unto that *dignity*, perceiving himself of his expectation disappointed by means of the Emperor Charles, so highly commending one Cardinal Adrian, sometime his schoolmaster, to the Cardinals of Rome, in the time of their election for his virtue and worthiness, that thereupon was he chosen Pope, who from Spain (where he was then resident) coming on foot to Rome, before his entry into that city did put off his hose and shoes, barefooted and barelegged passing through the streets towards his palace with such

humbleness, that all the people had him in great reverence. Cardinal Wolsey waxed so woe therewith, that he studied to invent all ways of revengement of his grief against the Emperor, which as it was the beginning of a lamentable tragedy, so some part thereof not impertinent to my present purpose I reckoned requisite here to put in remembrance. This Cardinal therefore, not ignorant of the King's unconstant and mutable disposition, soon inclined to withdraw his devotion from his own most noble and virtuous wife Queen Katherine, aunt to the Emperor, upon every light occasion; and upon other, to her in nobility, wisdom, virtue, favour, and beauty far incomparable, to fix his affection, meaning to make his so light disposition an instrument to bring about this his ungodly intent, devised to allure the King (then already contrary to his mind nothing less looking for than falling in love with the Lady Anne Bullen) to cast fancy to one of the French Sisters, which thing, because of enmity and war was at that time between the French King and the Emperor (whom, for the cause afore remembered, he mortally maligned) he was desirous to procure, and for the better achieving thereof requested Langland, Bishop of Lincoln, and ghostly father to the King, to put a scruple into the King's head, that it was not lawful for him to marry his brother's wife; which the King not sorry to hear of, opened it first to Sir Thomas More, whose counsel he required therein, showing him certain places of Scripture, that somewhat seemed to serve his appetite, which when he had perused, and thereupon, as one that never had professed the study of Divinity himself, excused to be unmeet many ways to meddle with such matters; the King, not satisfied with this answer, so sore still pressed upon him, therefore, in conclusion, he condescended to his Grace his motion, and further, that the matter was of such importance as needed good advice and deliberation, he

besought his Grace of sufficient respect advisedly to consider of it; wherewith the King well contented said unto him; Tunstall and Clarke, Bishops of Durham and Bath, with other learned of his Privy Council should also be dealers therein. So Sir Thomas More departing, conferred those places of Scripture with the exposition of divers of the old holy doctors, and at his coming to the Court, in talking with his Grace of the foresaid matter, he said, "To be plain with your Grace, neither my Lord of Durham, nor my Lord of Bath, though I know them both to be wise, virtuous, and learned, and honourable prelates, nor myself with the rest of your Council, being all your Grace's own servants, for your manifold benefits daily bestowed on us, so most bounden unto you, be in my judgment meet counsellors for your Grace herein; but if your Grace minds to understand the truth, such counsellors may you have devised, as neither for respect of their own worldly commodity, nor for fear of your princely authority, will be inclined to deceive you."

To whom he named St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and divers other holy doctors, both Greeks and Latins: and moreover showed him what authority he had gathered out of them, which although the King did not very well like of (as disagreeable to his Grace's desire), yet were they by Sir Thomas More (who in all his communication with the King in that matter had always most wisely behaved himself) so wisely tempered, that he both presently took them in good part, and oftentimes had thereof conference with him again. After this were there certain questions proposed among his Council, whether the King needed, in this case, to have any scruple at all, and if he had, what way were best to deliver him of it? the most part of whom were of the opinion, that there was good cause, and that, for discharging of it, suit were meet to be made to the See of

Rome, where the King hoping by liberality to obtain his purpose, wherein (as after it appeared) he was far deceived, then was there, for the trial and examination of this matrimony, procured from Rome a Commission, in which Cardinal Campegines and Cardinal Wolsey were joined Commissioners, who, for the determination thereof, sat at the Blackfriars in London. Where a libel was put in for the admitting of the said matrimony, alleging the said marriage between the King and the Queen to be unlawful, and, for proof of the marriage to be lawful, was there brought in a dispensation; in which, after divers disputations thereupon holden, there appeared an imperfection, which by an instrument or brief, upon search found in the treasury of Spain, and sent to the Commissioners into England, was supplied, and so should judgment have been given by the Pope accordingly, had not the King, upon intelligence thereof, before the same judgment appealed to the next general Council. After whose appellation the Cardinal upon that matter sat no longer. It fortuned before the matter of the said matrimony brought in question, when I, in talk with Sir Thomas More, of a certain joy commended unto him the happy estate of this realm, that had so catholic a Prince, that no heretic durst show his face, so virtuous and learned a clergy, so grave and sound a nobility, so loving and obedient subjects, all in one faith agreeing together: "True it is indeed (son Roper)," quoth he, and in commending all degrees and estates of the same went far beyond me, "and yet (son Roper) I pray God," said he, "that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains, treading heretics under our feet like ants, live not the day, that we gladly would wish to be at league and composition with them, to let them have their churches quietly to themselves; so that they would be content to let us have ours quietly to ourselves." After that I had told

him many considerations, why he had no cause to say so, "Well, well," said he, "I pray God (son Roper) some of us live not till that day," showing me no reason why I should put any doubt therein. Tó whom I said, "By my troth, Sir, it is very desperately spoken," that vile term (I cry God mercy) did I give him, who by these words perceiving me in a fume, said merrily unto me, "Well, son Roper, it shall not be so, it shall not be so." Whom in sixteen years and more, being in his house conversant with him, I could never perceive him so much as once to fume. But now to return again where I left: After supplying of imperfections of the dispensation sent (as before is rehearsed) to the Commissioners into England, the King taking the matter for ended, and then meaning no further to proceed in that matter, assigned the Bishop of Durham, and Sir Thomas More to go ambassadors to Cambray, a place neither Imperial nor French, to treat a peace between the French King, the Emperor, and him, in the concluding whereof Sir Thomas More so worthily handled himself (procuring in our league far more benefits unto his realm, than at that time by the King and Council was possible to be compassed), that for his good service in that voyage, the King, when he after made him Lord Chancellor, caused the Duke of Norfolk openly to declare unto the people (as you shall hear hereafter more at large) how much all England was bound unto him. Now, upon the coming home of the Bishop of Durham and Sir Thomas More from Cambray, the King was as earnest in persuading Sir Thomas More to agree unto the matter of his marriage as before, by many and divers ways provoking him thereunto. For which cause (as it was thought) he the rather soon after made him Lord Chancellor, and further declared unto him, that though at his going over the sea to Cambray, he was in utter despair thereof, yet he had

conceived since some good hope to compass it. For albeit his marriage, being against the positive law of the Church, and the written law of God, was holden by the dispensation, yet was there another thing found out of late, he said, whereby his marriage appeared to be so directly against the laws of nature, that it could in no wise by the Church be dispensable, as Dr. Stoksely (whom he had then newly preferred to be Bishop of London, and in that case chiefly credited) was able to instruct him, with whom he prayed him in that point to confer. But for all his conference with him, he saw nothing of such force, as could induce him to change his opinion therein; which notwithstanding the bishop showed himself in his report of him to the King's highness so good and favourable, that he said, he found him in his Grace's cause very toward, and desirous to find some good matter wherewith he might truly serve his Grace to his contentation. This Bishop Stoksely being by the Cardinal not long before in the Star Chamber openly put to rebuke, and awarded to the Fleet, not brooking his contumelious usage, and thinking, that forasmuch as the Cardinal, for lack of such forwardness in setting first the King's divorce as his Grace looked for, was out of his Highness' favour, he had now a good occasion offered him to revenge his quarrel against him—further to incense the King's displeasure towards him, busily travailed to invent some colourable device for the King's furtherance in that behalf. Which (as before is mentioned) he to his Grace revealed, hoping thereby to bring the King to the better liking of himself, and the more misliking of the Cardinal. His Highness therefore was soon after of his office displaced, and to Sir Thomas More (the rather to move him to incline to his side) the same in his stead committed. Who between Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk being brought through Westminster Hall

to his place in the Chancery, the Duke of Norfolk, in audience of all the people there assembled, showed, that he was from the King himself straightly charged by special commission there openly, in the presence of all, to make declaration, how much all England was beholden to Sir Thomas More for his good service, and how worthy he was to have the highest room in the Realm, and how dearly his Grace loved and trusted him; for which, said the Duke, he had great cause to rejoice. Whereunto Sir Thomas More, among many other his humble and wise sayings (not now in my memory) answered, "That although he had good cause to rejoice of his Highness' singular favour towards him, that he had far above his deserts so highly commended him, yet nevertheless he must for his own part needs confess, that in all things by his Grace alleged he had done no more than was his duty. And further disabled himself as unmeet for that room, wherein, considering how wise and honourable a prelate had lately before taken so great a fall, he had," he said, "thereof no cause to rejoice." And as they on the King's behalf charged him uprightly to minister indifferent justice to the people without corruption or affection, so did he likewise charge them again, that if they saw him at any time in anything digress from any part of his duty, in that honourable office, then, as they would discharge their own duty and fidelity to God and the King, so should they not fail to disclose it to his Grace, who otherwise might have just occasion to lay his fault wholly to their charge. While he was Lord Chancellor (being at leisure, as seldom he was) one of his sons-in-law on a time said merrily unto him, "When Cardinal Wolsey was Lord Chancellor, not only divers of his privy chamber, but such also as were his door keepers got great gain, and since he had married one of his daughters, and gave still attendance upon him, he thought he

might of reason look for somewhat, where he indeed, because he was ready himself to hear every man, poor and rich, and keep no doors shut from them, could find none, which was to him a great discouragement. And whereas else some for friendship, some for kindred, and some for profit, would gladly have his furtherance in bringing them to his presence, if he should now take anything of them he knew" (he said), "he should do them great wrong, for that they might do as much for themselves, as he could do for them: which condition although he thought in Sir Thomas More very commendable, yet to him" (said he) "being his son he found it nothing profitable." When he had told him this tale, "You say well, son" (quoth he), "I do not mislike that you are of conscience so scrupulous, but many other ways be there (son), that I may do both yourself good, and pleasure your friend also. For sometimes may I in words stand your friend in stead, and sometime may I by my letter help you and him, or if he have a cause depending before me, at your request I may hear him before another, or if his cause be not all the best, yet may I move the parties to fall to some reasonable end by arbitrament; howbeit, this one thing I assure thee on my faith, that if the parties will at my hand call for justice, then were it my father stood on the one side and the devil on the other side (his cause being good) the devil should have right. So offered he his son (as he thought" he said) "as much favour as with reason he could require." And that he would for no respect digress from justice well appeared by a plain example of another of his sons-in-law, Mr. Heron. For when he, having a matter before him in the Chancery, presuming too much of his favour, would by him in no wise be persuaded to agree to any indifferent order, then made he in conclusion a flat decree against him. This Lord Chancellor

used commonly every afternoon to sit in his open hall, to the intent, if any person had any suit unto him, they might the more boldly come to his presence, and there open complaints before him. Whose manner was also to read every bill himself, ere he would award any subpœna, which bearing matter sufficient worthy a subpœna, would he set his hand unto, or else cancel it. Whensoever he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the Chancery by the Court of the King's Bench, if his father, one of the judges there, had been sat ere he came he would go into the same court, and there reverently kneeling down in the sight of them all duly ask his father's blessing. And if it fortuned that his father and he at readings in Lincoln's Inn met together (as they sometime did) notwithstanding his high office he would offer in argument the pre-eminence to his father, though he for his office sake would refuse to take it. And for the better declaration of his natural affection towards his father, he not only (when he lay on his death-bed) according to his duty ofttimes with comfortable words most kindly came to visit him; but also at his departure out of this world, with tears taking him about the neck, most lovingly kissed and embraced him, commending into the merciful hands of Almighty God, and so departed from him. And as few injunctions as he granted while he was Lord Chancellor, yet were they by some of the judges of the law misliked, which I understanding, declared the same unto Sir Thomas More, who answered me, that they have little cause to find fault with him therefore. And thereupon caused he one Mr. Crooke, chief of the six clerks, to make a docket, containing the whole number and causes of all such injunctions, as either in his time had already passed, or at that present time depended in any of the King's Courts at Westminster before him. Which done he invited all the judges to dinner

with him in the Council Chamber at Westminster, where after dinner when he had broken with them what complaints he had heard of his injunctions, and moreover showed them both the number and causes of every of them in order so plainly, that, upon full debating of those matters, they were all enforced to confess, that they, in like case, could have done no otherwise themselves, then offered he this unto them, that if the justices of every court, unto whom the reformation of rigour of the law, by reason of their office, most specially appertained, would, upon reasonable considerations, by their own discretions (as they were, as he thought, in conscience bound) mitigate and reform the rigour of the law themselves, there should from thenceforth by him no more injunctions be granted. Whereupon when they refused to condescend, then said he unto them: "Forasmuch as yourselves, my lords, drive me to that necessity for awarding our injunctions to relieve the people's injury, you cannot hereafter any more justly blame me;" after that he had said secretly unto me: "I perceive, son, why they like not so to do. For they see, that they may, by the verdict of the jury, cast off all quarrels from themselves upon them, which they account their chief defence, and therefore am I compelled to abide the adventure of all such reports." And as little leisure as he had to be occupied in the study of Holy Scripture, and controversies upon religion, and such other like virtuous exercises, being in manner continually busied about the affairs of the King and the Realm, yet such watch and pain in setting forth of divers profitable works in defence of the true Catholic religion against heresies, secretly sown abroad in the Realm, assuredly sustained he, that the bishops, to whose pastoral cure the reformation thereof principally appertained, thinking themselves by his travail (wherein, by their own confession, with him they were not able to make

comparison) of their duty discharged, and considering that, for all his pains, and prince's favour, he was no rich man, nor in yearly revenues advanced as his worthiness deserved, therefore at a convocation among themselves and other of the clergy, they agreed together, and concluded upon a sum of four or five thousand pounds at the least (to my remembrance) for his pains to recompense him. To the payment whereof every bishop, abbot, and the rest of the clergy were after the rate of their abilities liberal contributaries, hoping this portion should be to his contentation. Whereupon Tunstall bishop of Durham, Clarke bishop of Bath, and (as far as I can call to mind) Vaysie bishop of Exeter, repaired unto him, declaring how thankfully for his travails to their discharge in God's cause bestowed, they reckoned themselves bound to consider him. And that albeit they could not according to his deserts so worthily as they gladly would requite him therefore, but reserve that only to the goodness of God, yet for a small part of recompense, in respect of his estate, so unequal to his worthiness, in the name of their whole Convocation, they presented unto him that sum, which they desired him to take in good part, who forsaking it, said, "That like as it were no small comfort unto him, that so wise and learned men so well accepted his simple doing, for which he intended never to receive reward but at the hands of God only, to whom alone was thanks thereof chiefly to be ascribed: so gave he most humble thanks unto their honours all for their bountiful consideration." When they for all their importune pressing upon him, that few would have went he could have refused it, could by no means make him to take it, then they besought him be content, yet that they might bestow it upon his wife and children; "Not so, my Lords" (quoth he), "I had liever see it all cast into the Thames, than I, or any of mine should have

thereof the worth of one penny. For though your offer, my Lords, be indeed very friendly and honourable, yet set I so much by my pleasure, and so little by my profit, that I would not (in good faith) for so much, and much more to have lost the rest of so many a night's sleep, as was spent upon the same. And yet wish I would, for all that, upon conditions that all heresies were suppressed, that all my books were burned, and my labour utterly lost." Thus departing, were they fain to restore to every man his own again. This Lord Chancellor albeit he was to God and the world well known of notable virtue, though not so of every man considered, yet for the avoidance of singularity would he appear no otherwise than other men in his apparel and other outward behaviour. And albeit he appeared honourable outwardly, and like one of his calling, yet inwardly he no such vanities esteeming, secretly next his body wore a shirt of hair, which my sister More, a young gentlewoman in the summer, as he sat at supper singly in his doublet and hose, wearing thereupon a plain shirt without ruff or collar, chancing to espy, began to laugh at it. My wife not ignorant of his manner, perceiving the same privily told him of it, and he being sorry that she saw it, presently amended it. He used also sometimes to punish his body with whips, the cords knotted, which was known only to my wife his eldest daughter, whom for her secrecy above all other he specially trusted, caused her, as need required, to wash the same shirt of hair. Now shortly upon his entry into the high office of the Chancellorship, the King oftsoons again moved him to weigh and consider his greatest matter, who falling down upon his knees, humbly besought his Highness to stand his gracious Sovereign, as ever since his entry into his gracious service he had found him, saying, "There was nothing in the world had been so grievous to his heart, as to remember he was

not able, as he willingly would with the loss of one of his limbs, for that matter to find anything whereby he could serve his Grace's contentment, as he that always bare in mind the most godly words, that his Highness spake unto him at his first coming into his noble service, the most virtuous lesson that ever prince taught his servant, willing him first to look unto God, and after God to him, as in good faith," he said, "he did, or else might his Grace well account him his most unworthy servant." To this the King answered, "that if he could not with his conscience serve him, he was content to accept his service otherwise, and use the advice of other his learned Council, whose consciences could well enough agree thereto, he would nevertheless continue his gracious favour towards him, and never with that matter molest his conscience after." But Sir Thomas More in process of time seeing the King fully determined to proceed forth in the marriage of Queen Anne, and when he with the bishops and nobles of the Higher House of Parliament, were, for the furtherance of that marriage, commanded by the King to go down to the Common House to show to them both what the Universities as well of other parts beyond the seas, as at Oxford and Cambridge had done in that behalf, and their seals also testifying the same: all which matters, at the King's request (not showing of what mind himself was therein), he opened to the Lower House of the Parliament: nevertheless doubting lest further attempts should after follow, which, contrary to his conscience, by reason of his office he was likely to be put unto, he made suit to the Duke of Norfolk, his singular dear friend, to be a mean to the King, that he might, with his Grace's favour, be discharged of that chargeable room of Chancellorship, wherein for certain infirmities of his body, he pretended himself unable any longer to serve. This Duke coming on a time to Chelsea to dine with him, fortuned to find

him at church singing in the choir with a surplice on his back; to whom after service, as they went home together arm in arm, the Duke said, "God body, God body (my Lord Chancellor) a parish clerk, a parish clerk, you dishonour the King and his office." "Nay," quoth Sir Thomas More, smiling upon the Duke, "your Grace may not think, that the King, your master and mine, will with me for serving God his Master be offended, or thereby count his office dishonoured." When the Duke, being thereunto solicited by importunate suit, had at length obtained for Sir Thomas More a clear discharge of his office, then at a time convenient, by his Highness' appointment, repaired he to his Grace, to yield up unto him the great seal, which, as his Grace with thanks and praise for his worthy service in that office courteously at his hands received, so pleased it his Highness to say more unto him, that for the good service he before had done him in any suit which he should after have unto him, that either should concern his honour (for that word it liked his Highness to use unto him) or that should appertain unto his profit, he would find his Highness a good and gracious lord unto him. After he had thus given over his Chancellorship, and placed all his gentlemen and yeomen with bishops and noblemen, and his eight watermen with the Lord Audley, that after in the same office succeeded him to whom also he gave his great barge, then calling us that were his children unto him, and asking our advice, how we might now, in this decay of his ability, by the surrender of his office so impaired, that he could not, as he was wont, and gladly would bear out the whole charges of them all himself, from henceforth be able to live and continue together, as he wished we should, when he saw us all silent, and in that case not ready to show our opinions unto him, "Then will I" (said he) "show my poor mind unto you. I have been brought up at Oxford,

at an Inn of Chancery, at Lincoln's Inn, and in the King's Court, so forth from the lowest degree to the highest, and yet have I in yearly revenues little more than one hundred pounds by the year at this present left me. So that we must hereafter, if we like to live together. But by my counsel it shall not be best for us to fall to the lowest fare first. We will not therefore descend to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of New Inn, but we will begin with Lincoln's Inn diet, where many right worshipful and of good years do live full well, which if we find not ourselves the first year able to maintain, then will we the next year after go one step down to New Inn fare, wherewith many an honest man is well contented. If that exceed our ability too, then will we the next year after descend to Oxford fare, where many grave, ancient, and learned Fathers be conversant continually, which if our ability stretch not to maintain neither, then may we yet with bags and wallets go a-begging together, and hoping that for pity some good folks will give their charity at every man's door to sing *salve Regina*, and so still keep company merrily together." And whereas you have heard before he was by the King from a very worshipful living taken unto his Grace's service, with whom all the great and weighty causes that concerned his Highness, or the Realm, he consumed and spent with painful cares, travail, and trouble as well beyond the seas, as within the Realm, in effect the whole substance of his life, yet with all the gain he got thereby (being never no wasteful spender thereof) was he not able, after the resignation of his office of the Lord Chancellor, for the maintenance of himself, and such as necessarily belonged unto him, sufficiently to find meat, drink, fuel, apparel, and such other necessary charges. All the land that ever he purchased before he was Lord Chancellor, was not, I am well assured, above the value of twenty

marks by the year, and after his debts paid he had not I know (his chain excepted) in gold and silver left him the worth of one hundred pounds. And whereas upon the holidays, during High-Chancellorship, one of his gentlemen, when service at the church was down, ordinarily used to come to my Lady, his wife's pew, and say, "Madam, my Lord is gone," the next holiday after the surrender of his office, and departure of his gentlemen he came unto my Lady, his wife's pew, himself, and making a low curtsey, said unto her, "Madam, my Lord is gone." In the time somewhat before his trouble, he would talk with his wife and children of the joys of heaven and the pains of hell, of the lives of holy martyrs, and of their grievous martyrdom, of their marvellous patience, and of their passions and deaths, that they suffered rather than they would offend God, and what an happy and a blessed thing it was for the love of God to suffer loss of goods, imprisonment, loss of lands, and life also. He would further say unto them, that upon his faith if he might perceive his wife and children would encourage him to die in a good cause, it should so comfort him, that for very joy thereof it would make him merrily to run to death. He showed them afore what trouble might fall unto him, wherewith, and the like virtuous talk he had so long before his trouble encouraged them, that when he after fell in the trouble indeed, his trouble to him was a great deal the less, *quia spicula prævisa minus lædunt.* Now upon this resignment of his office came Sir Thomas Cromwell (then in the King's high favour) to Chelsea to him on a message from the King, wherein when they had throughly communed together, "Mr. Cromwell" (quoth he), "you are now entered into the service of a most noble, wise, and liberal prince; if you will follow my poor advice, you shall, in counsel giving unto his Grace, ever tell him what he ought to do, but never tell him

what he is able to do, so shall you show yourself a true faithful servant, and a right worthy Councillor. For if the lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him." Shortly thereupon was there a commission directed to Cranmer, then Archbishop of Canterbury to determine the matter of the matrimony between the King and Queen Katherine at St. Alban's, where according to the King's mind that was throughly finished, who pretending that he had no justice at the Pope's hands, from thenceforth sequestered himself from the See of Rome, and so married the Lady Anne Bullen, which Sir Thomas More understanding, said unto me, "God give grace, son, that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oaths." I at that time seeing no likelihood thereof, yet fearing lest for his forespeaking that would the sooner come to pass, waxed therefore for his saying much offended with him. It fortuned not long before the coming of the Queen Anne through the streets of London from the Tower to Westminster to her Coronation, that he received a letter from the Bishops of Durham, Bath, and Winchester, requesting him to bear them company from the Tower to the Coronation, and also to take £20 that by the bearer thereof they had sent him to buy him a gown with, which he thankfully received, and at home still tarrying, at their next meeting said merrily unto them, "My Lords, in the letters which you lately sent me, you required two things of me, the one whereof since I was so well contented to grant you, the other therefore I thought I might be the bolder to deny you."

In continuance when the King saw that he could by no manner of benefits win him to his side, then went he about by terrors and threats to drive him thereunto, the beginning of which trouble grew by occasion of a certain nun dwelling

in Canterbury, for her virtue and holiness among the people not a little esteemed, unto whom for that cause many religious persons, Doctors of Divinity, and divers other of good worship of the laity used to resort, who affirming that she had revelations from God to give the King warning of his wicked life, and of the abuses of the sword and authority committed to him by God, and understanding my Lord of Rochester, Bishop Fisher, to be a man of notable virtuous living and learning, repaired to Rochester, and there disclosed unto him all her revelations, desiring his advice and counsel therein, which the Bishop perceiving might well stand with the laws of God and his Church advised her (as she before had warning and intended) to go to the King herself, and to let him understand the whole circumstance thereof, whereupon she went unto the King, and told him all her revelations, and returned home again. And in short space after, she making a voyage to the Nun of Sion by the means of one Mr. Reynolds a father of that house there fortuned concerning such secrets as she had revealed unto her, some part whereof seemed to touch the matter of the King's supremacy and marriage (which shortly thereupon followed) to enter into talk with Sir Thomas More; who notwithstanding he might well at that time without danger of any law (though after, as himself had prognosticated before, those matters were established by statutes and confirmed by oaths) freely and safely have talked with her therein; nevertheless, in all the communication between them (as in process of time it appeared) had always so discreetly demeaned himself, that he deserved not to be blamed, but contrariwise to be commended and praised. And had he not been one that in all his great office, and doings for the King and Realm together, had from all corruption of wrong doing, or bribes taking, kept

himself so clear, that no man was able therewith to blemish him, it would without doubt (in this troublesome time of the King's wrath and indignation towards him) have been deeply laid to his charge, and of the King's Highness favourably accepted, as in the case of one Parnell that most manifestly appeared: against whom Sir Thomas More while he was Lord Chancellor, at the suit of one Vaughan his adversary had made a decree. This Parnell to the King's Highness had grievously complained that Sir Thomas More, for making the decree, had of the same Vaughan (unable for the gout to travel abroad himself) by the hands of his wife taken a fair great gilt cup for a bribe, who thereupon by the King's appointment being called before the Council, where that matter was heinously laid to his charge, forthwith confessed, that forasmuch as that cup was long after the aforesaid decree brought unto him for a new year's gift, he upon her importunate pressing upon him, therefore of courtesy refused not to take it. Then the Lord of Wiltshire (for hatred of his religion preferrer of this suit) with much rejoicing said unto the Lords, "Lo my Lords, lo, did I not tell you that you should find this matter true?" Whereupon Sir Thomas More desired their worships, that as they had courteously heard him tell the one part of his tale, so they would vouchsafe of their honours indifferently to hear the other, after which obtained, he further declared unto them, that albeit indeed he had with much work received that cup, yet immediately thereupon he caused his butler to fill that with wine, and of that cup drank to her, and that when she had pledged him, then as freely as her husband had given it unto him, even so freely gave he the same unto her again, to give unto her husband for his new year's gift, which at his instant request, though much against her will, yet at length she was fain to receive, as herself and certain other there presently

deposed before them. Thus was the great mountain turned scarce unto a mole-hill. So I remember that another time on a new year's day there came unto him one Mrs. Crocker, a rich widow (for whom with no small pains he had made a decree in the Chancery against the Lord of Arundel) to present him with a pair of gloves and £40 in angels in them for a new year's gift, of whom he thankfully received the gloves, but refusing the money said unto her, "Mistress, since that were against good manners to forsake a gentlewoman's new year's gift, I am content to receive your gloves, but as for your money I utterly refuse:" so much against her mind enforced he her to take her gold again. And one Mr. Gresham likewise having a cause depending in the Chancery against him, sent him for a new year's gift a fair gilt cup, the fashion whereof he very well liking caused one of his own (though not in his fantasy of so good a fashion) yet better in value, to be brought out of his chamber, which he willed the messenger to deliver to his mistress in recompense, and under other conditions would he in no wise receive it. Many things more of like effect for the declaration of his innocence and clearness from corruption, or evil affection, could I here rehearse besides, which for tediousness omitting, I refer to the readers by these few fore-remembered examples with their own judgments wisely to consider. At this Parliament was there put into the Lords' House a bill to attaint the nun, and divers other religious persons of high treason; and the Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and certain others of misprision of treason: the King presupposing of likelihood this bill would be to Sir Thomas More so troublous and terrible, that that would force him to relent and condescend to his request, wherein his Grace was much deceived. To which bill Sir Thomas More was a suitor personally to be received in his own defence to make answer, but the King not liking that, assigned

the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and Mr. Cromwell, at a day and place appointed to call Sir Thomas More before them, at which time I thinking I had good opportunity, earnestly advised him to labour unto these Lords for the help of his discharge out of the Parliament Bill; who answered me, he would: and at his coming before them according to their appointment, they entertained him very friendly, willing him to sit down with them, which in no wise he would. Then began the Lord Chancellor to declare unto him how many ways the King had showed his love and favour towards him, how fain he would have had him continue in his office, how glad he would have been to have heaped more benefits upon him, and finally, how he could ask no worldly honour, or profit at his Highness' hands, that were likely to be denied him: hoping by the declaration of the King's kindness and favour towards him to provoke him to recompense his Grace with the like again, and unto those things that the Parliament, the Bishops, and Universities had already passed to yield his consent. To this Sir Thomas More mildly answered saying, "No man living is there (my Lords) that would with better will do the thing that should be acceptable to the King's Highness than I, which must needs confess his manifold benefits, and bountiful goodness most benignly bestowed on me. Howbeit I verily hoped that I should never have heard of this matter more, considering that I have from time to time always from the beginning so plainly and truly declared my mind unto his Grace, which his Highness to me ever seemed, like a most gracious prince, very well to accept, never minding, as he said, to molest me more therewith. Since which time any further thing that was able to move me to any change could I never find, and if I could, there is none in all the world that could have been gladder of it than

I." Many things more were there of like sort on both sides uttered. But in the end when they saw they could by no means of persuasions remove him from his former determinations, then began they more terribly to touch him, telling him that the King's Highness had given them in commandment (if they could by no gentleness win him) in his name with his great ingratitude to charge him, that never was there servant to his master so villainous, nor subject to his prince so traitorous as he. For he by his subtle sinister sleights, most unnaturally procuring and provoking him to set forth a book of the assertion of Seven Sacraments, and in maintenance of the Pope's authority, had caused him to his dishonour throughout all Christendom to put a sword in the Pope's hands to fight against himself. When they had thus laid forth all the terrors they could imagine against him: "My Lords" (quoth he) "These terrors be the arguments for children, and not for me. But to answer that wherewith you do chiefly burden me, I believe the King's Highness of his honour will never lay that to my charge. For none is there that in that point can say more in mine excuse than his Highness himself, who right well knoweth that I was never procurer or councillor of his Majesty thereunto, but after that it was finished, by his Grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, only a sorter out, and placer of the principal matters therein contained; wherein when I found the Pope's authority highly advanced, and with strong arguments mightily defended, I said unto his Grace, *I must put your Grace in remembrance of one thing, and that is this, The Pope (as your Grace knoweth) is a Prince as you are, and in league with all other Christian Princes, that may hereafter so fall out, that your Grace and he may vary upon some points of the league, whereupon may grow some breach of amity and war between you both; I think*

it best therefore that that place be amended, and his authority more slenderly touched. Nay (quoth his Grace) that it shall not, we are so much bounden unto the See of Rome, that we cannot do too much honour unto it. Then did I put him further in remembrance of the statute of Praemunire, whereby a good part of the Pope's pastoral cure here was paid away. To that answered his Highness, *whatsoever impediment be to the contrary, we will set forth that authority to the uttermost. For we received from that See our Crown Imperial;* which till his Grace with his own mouth told me I never heard of before. So that I trust when his Grace shall be truly informed of this, and call to his gracious remembrance my doings in that behalf, his Highness will never speak of it more, but clear me throughly therein himself." And thus displeasantly departed they. Then took Sir Thomas More his boat towards his house at Chelsea, wherein by the way he was very merry, and for that was I nothing sorry, hoping that he had gotten himself discharged out of the Parliament Bill. When he was come home, then walked we two alone into his garden together, where I desirous to know how he had sped, said, "Sir, I trust all is well, because you are so merry." "That is so, indeed (son Roper) I thank God" (quoth he). "Are you put out of the Parliament Bill then?" said I. "By my troth (son Roper)," quoth he, "I never remembered it." "Never remembered it, Sir?" quoth I. "A case that toucheth yourself so near, and us all for your sake. I am sorry to hear it. For I verily trusted when I saw you so merry, that all had been well." Then said he, "Wilt thou know, son Roper, why I was so merry?" "That would I gladly, Sir," quoth I. "In good faith I rejoice, son," (quoth he), "that I had given the devil so foul a fall, and that with those Lords I had gone so far, as, without great shame, I could never go back

again." At which words waxed I very sad. For though himself liked it well, yet liked it me but a little. Now upon the report made by the Lord Chancellor, and the other Lords unto the King of all their whole discourse had with Sir Thomas More, the King was so highly offended with him, that he plainly told them he was fully determined the said Parliament Bill should undoubtedly proceed forth against him. To whom my Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Lords said, that they perceived the Lords of the Upper House so precisely bent to hear him, in his own case, make answer for himself, that if he were not put out of the Parliament Bill, it would without fail be utterly an overthrow of all. But for all this needs would the King have his own will therein, or else he said that at the passing thereof he would be personally present himself. Then the Lord Audley and the rest, seeing him so vehemently set thereupon, on their knees most humbly besought his Majesty to forbear the same, considering, that if he should in his own presence receive an overthrow, it would not only encourage his subjects ever after to contemn him, but also throughout all Christendom, redound to his dishonour for ever, adding thereunto, that they mistrusted not in time to find some meet matter to serve his Grace's turn better. For in this case of the nun he was accounted so innocent and clear, that for his dealing therein men reckoned him worthier of praise than reproof. Whereupon at length through their earnest persuasion, he was content to condescend to their petition. And on the morrow after, Mr. Cromwell meeting me in the Parliament House willed me to tell my father, that he was put out of the Parliament Bill. But because I had appointed to dine that day in London, I sent the message by my servant to my wife at Chelsea, whereof when she informed her father, "in faith Meg" (quoth he) "*Quod defertur, non aufertur.*"

After this as the Duke of Norfolk and Sir Thomas More chanced to fall in familiar talk together, the Duke said unto him, "By the Mass (Mr. More) it is perilous striving with Princes, and therefore I would wish you somewhat to incline to the King's pleasure. For by God's body (Mr. More) *Indignatio principis mors est.*" "Is that all, my Lord?" (quoth he). "Is there (in good faith) no more difference between your Grace and me, but that I shall die to-day and you to-morrow?" So fell it out within a month or thereabout after the making of the Statute for the oath of Supremacy and Matrimony, that all the priests of London and Westminster, and no temporal men but he were sent to appear at Lambeth before the Bishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Cromwell, Commissioners, there, to tender the oath unto them. Then Sir Thomas More, as his accustomed manner was always ere he entered into any matter of importance (as when he was first chosen of the King's Privy Council, when he was sent Ambassador, appointed Speaker of the Parliament, made Lord Chancellor, or when he took any like weighty matter upon him) to go to the church, and to be confessed, to hear mass, and be housled; so did he likewise in the morning early the selfsame day that he was summoned to appear before the Lords at Lambeth. And whereas he used evermore before, at his departure from his house and children (whom he loved tenderly) to have them bring him to his boat, and there to kiss them all, and bid them farewell, then would he suffer none of them forth of the gate to follow him, but pulled the wicket after him, and shut them all from him, and with an heavy heart (as by his countenance it appeared) with me, and our four servants, there took his boat towards Lambeth. Wherein sitting still sadly awhile, at the last he rounded me in the ear and said, "Son Roper, I thank our Lord, the field is won." What he

meant thereby, then, I wist not. Yet loath to seem ignorant I answered, "Sir, I am thereof very glad." But as I conjectured afterwards it was for that the love he had to God wrought in him so effectually, that it conquered in him all his carnal affectations utterly. At his coming to Lambeth, how wisely he behaved himself before the Commissioners, at the ministration of the oath unto him, may be found in certain letters of his (sent to my wife) remaining in a great book of his works: where by the space of four days, he was betaken to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster, during which time the King consulted with his Council what order were meet to be taken with him. And albeit in the beginning they were resolved, that with an oath not to be known whether he had to the supremacy been sworn, or what he thought thereof, he should be discharged, yet did Queen Anne, by her importunate clamour, so sore exasperate the King against him, that, contrary to his former resolution, he caused the oath of the supremacy to be ministered unto him, who, albeit he made a discreet qualified answer, nevertheless was forthwith committed to the Tower, who as he was going thitherward, wearing, as he commonly did, a chain of gold about his neck, Sir Richard Cromwell (that had the charge of his conveyance thither) advised him to send home his chain to his wife, or some of his children, "Nay, Sir (quoth he), that will I not. For if I were taken in the field by my enemies, I would they should somewhat fare the better by me." At whose landing Mr. Lieutenant at the Tower gate was ready to receive him, where the porter demanded of him his upper garment. "Mr. Porter" (quoth he) "here it is," and took off his cap and delivered him, saying, "I am very sorry it is no better for you." "Nay, Sir" (quoth the Porter), "I must have your gown," and so was he by Mr. Lieutenant conveyed into his lodging, where he called unto

him one John Awood his own servant there appointed to attend upon him, who could neither write nor read, and swore him before the Lieutenant that if he should hear, or see him at any time, speak or write any manner of thing against the King, the Council, or the state of the Realm, he should open it to the Lieutenant, that the Lieutenant might incontinent reveal it to the Council. Now when Sir Thomas More had remained in the Tower a little more than a month, my wife, longing to see her father, by her earnest suit at length gat leave to go to him. At whose coming (after the seven psalms and litany said, which whensoever she came to him, ere he fell in talk of any worldly matters, he used accustomably to say with her) among other communication he said unto her, "I believe (Meg) that they that have put me here, ween they have done me a high displeasure. But I assure you on my faith, mine own dear daughter, if it had not been for my wife and you that be my children, whom I account the chief part of my charge, I would not have failed, long ere this, to have closed myself in as strait a room and straiter too. But since I come hither without mine own desert, I trust that God of his goodness will discharge me of my care, and with his gracious help supply my want among you. I find no cause (I thank God, Meg) to reckon myself in worse case here, than in mine own house. For methinketh God maketh me a wanton, and setteth me on his lap and dandleth me." Thus by his gracious demeanour in tribulations appeared it, that all the troubles that ever chanced unto him by his patient sufferance thereof were to him no painful punishments, but of his patience profitable exercises. And at another time, when he had first questioned with my wife a while of the order of his wife and children, and state of his house in his absence, he asked her how Queen Anne did: "In faith, father" (quoth she), "never better." "Never

better, Meg?" quoth he. "Alas (Meg) alas, it pitieth me to remember, in what misery she (poor soul) shortly shall come." After this Mr. Lieutenant coming into his chamber to visit him, rehearsed the benefits and friendships that he had many times received at his hands, and how much bounden he was therefore friendly to entertain him and make him good cheer, which since (the case standing as it did) he could not do without the King's indignation, he trusted (he said) he would accept his good will, and such poor cheer as he had. "Mr. Lieutenant" (quoth he again), "I verily believe, as you may, so are you my good friend indeed, and would (as you say) with your best cheer entertain me, for the which I most heartily thank you. And assure yourself (Mr. Lieutenant)," quoth he, "I do not mislike my cheer, but whensoever I so do, then thrust me out of your doors." Whereas the oath confirming the supremacy and matrimony was by the first statute comprised in few words, the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Secretary did of their own heads add more words unto it, to make it appear to the King's ears more pleasant and plausible. And that oath so amplified caused they to be ministered to Sir Thomas More and to all other throughout the Realm, which Sir Thomas perceiving said unto my wife: "I may tell thee (Meg) they that have committed me hither for refusing of the oath, not agreeable with the statute, are not able by their own law to justify my imprisonment. And surely (daughter) it is a great pity that a Christian prince should (by a flexible council ready to follow his affections, and by a weak clergy lacking grace constantly to stand to their learning) with flattery so shameful to be abused." But at length the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Secretary, espying their oversight in that behalf, were fain afterwards to find the means that another statute should be made for the confirmation of the oath so amplified

with their additions. After Sir Thomas More had given over his office and all other worldly doings therewith, to the intent he might from thenceforth the more quietly set himself to the service of God, then made he a conveyance for the disposition of his lands, reserving for himself an estate thereof only for the term of his life, and after his decease assuring some part of the same to his wife, some to his son's wife for a jointure, in consideration that she was an inheritrix in possession of more than an hundred pounds land by the year, and some to me and my wife in recompense of our marriage money with divers remainders over, all which conveyance and assurance was perfectly finished long before that matter, whereupon she was attainted, was made an offence, and yet after by statute clearly voided; and so were all his lands, that he had to his wife and children by the said conveyance in such sort assured, contrary to the order of law, taken away from them, and brought into the King's hands, saving that portion that he had appointed to my wife and me, which although he had in the foresaid conveyance reserved, as he did the rest, for term of his life unto himself, nevertheless, upon further consideration, after by another conveyance he gave that same immediately to me, and my wife in possession. And so because the statute had undone only the first conveyance, giving no more to the King but so much as passed by that, the second conveyance, whereby it was given unto my wife and me, being dated two days after was without the compass of the statute, and so was our portion to us by that means clearly reserved. As Sir Thomas More in the Tower chanced on a time looking out of his window to behold one Mr. Reynolds, a religious, learned and virtuous father of Sion, and three monks of the Charterhouse for the matter of the supremacy going out of the Tower to execution, he, as one longing in that journey to have accompanied them,

said unto my wife, then standing there beside him, "Lo, dost thou not see (Meg) that these blessed fathers be now as cheerful going to their deaths, as bridegrooms to their marriages? Wherefore thereby mayest thou see (mine own good daughter) what a difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days in a strait, hard, penitential, and painful life religiously, and such as have in the world, like worldly wretches, as thy poor father hath done, consumed all the time in pleasure and ease licentiously. For God, considering their long-continued life in most sore and grievous penance, will not longer suffer them to remain here in this vale of misery and iniquity, but speedily hence take them to the fruition of his everlasting deity: whereas thy silly father (Meg) that, like a most wicked caitiff, hath passed forth the whole course of his miserable life most pitifully, God, thinking him not worthy so soon to come to that eternal felicity, leaveth him here yet, still in the world further to be plunged and turmoiled with misery." Within a while after Mr. Secretary (coming to him into the Tower from the King) pretended much friendship towards him, and for his comfort told him, that the King's Highness was his good and gracious lord and minded not with any matter, wherein he should have any cause of scruple, from henceforth to trouble his conscience. As soon as Mr. Secretary was gone, to express what comfort he conceived of his words, he wrote with a coal (for ink then he had none) these verses following:—

"*Ay flattering fortune look you never so fair,*
Nor never so pleasantly begin to smile,
As though thou wouldst my ruins all repair
During my life thou shalt not me beguile,
Trust I shall, God, to enter in a while

Thy haven of heaven sure and uniform,
Ever after thy calm look I for no storm."

When Sir Thomas More had continued a good while in the Tower, my lady his wife obtained licence to see him, who at her first coming like a simple woman, and somewhat worldly too, with this manner of salutations bluntly saluted him, "What the good year, Mr. More," quoth she, "I marvel that you, that have been always hitherunto taken for so wise a man, will now so play the fool to lie here in this close filthy prison, and be content to be shut up among mice and rats, when you might be abroad at your liberty, and with the favour and good will both of the King and his Council, if you would but do as all the bishops and best learned of this Realm have done. And seeing you have at Chelsea a right fair house, your library, your books, your gallery, your garden, your orchards, and all other necessaries so handsomely about you, where you might, in the company of me your wife, your children, and household be merry, I muse what a God's name you mean here still thus fondly to tarry." After he had a while quietly heard her, with a cheerful countenance he said unto her, "I pray thee good Mrs. Alice, tell me, tell me one thing." "What is that?" (quoth she). "Is not this house as nigh heaven as mine own?" To whom she, after her accustomed fashion, not liking such talk, answered, "*Tille valle, tille valle.*" "How say you, Mrs. Alice, is it not so?" quoth he. "*Bone Deus, bone Deus*, man, will this gear never be left?" quoth she. "Well then, Mrs. Alice, if it be so, it is very well. For I see no great cause why I should much joy of my gay house, or of anything belonging thereunto, when, if I should but seven years lie buried under the ground, and then arise and come thither again, I should not fail to find some therein that would bid me get me out of the

doors, and tell me that were none of mine. What cause have I then to like such an house as would so soon forget his master?" So her persuasions moved him but a little. Not long after came there to him the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with Mr. Secretary, and certain others of the Privy Council at two separate times, by all policies possible procuring him either precisely to confess the supremacy, or precisely to deny it. Whereunto (as appeareth by his examination in the said great book) they could never bring him. Shortly hereupon Mr. Rich (afterwards Lord Rich) then newly the King's Solicitor, Sir Richard Southwell, and Mr. Palmer, servant to the Secretary, were sent to Sir Thomas More into the Tower, to fetch away his books from him. And while Sir Richard Southwell and Mr. Palmer were busy in trussing up of his books, Mr. Rich, pretending friendly talk with him, among other things of a set course, as it seemed, said thus unto him: "Forasmuch as it is well known (Mr. More) that you are a man both wise and well learned, as well in the laws of the Realm, as otherwise, I pray you therefore, Sir, let me be so bold as of good will to put unto you this case. Admit there were, Sir," quoth he, "an Act of Parliament, that all the Realm should take me for the King, would not you (Mr. More) take me for the King?" "Yes, Sir," quoth Sir Thomas More, "that would I." "I put the case further" (quoth Mr. Rich) "that there were an Act of Parliament that all the Realm should take me for the Pope; would then not you, Mr. More, take me for the Pope?" "For answer," quoth Sir Thomas More, "to your first case, the Parliament may well (Mr. Rich) meddle with the state of temporal princes; but to make answer to your second case, I will put you this case, Suppose the Parliament would make a law, that God should not be God, would you then, Mr. Rich, say God were not God?" "No, Sir," quoth he, "that

would I not, since no Parliament may make any such law." "No more" (said Sir Thomas More, as Mr. Rich reported of him) "could the Parliament make the King supreme head of the Church." Upon whose only report was Sir Thomas More indicted of treason upon the Statute in which it was made treason to deny the King to be supreme head of the Church, into which indictment were put these words, *maliciously, traitorously, and diabolically.* When Sir Thomas More was brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall to answer the indictment, and at the King's Bench bar before the judges thereupon arraigned, he openly told them that he would upon that indictment have abiden in law, but he thereby should have been driven to confess of himself the matter indeed, which was the denial of the King's supremacy, which he protested was untrue, wherefore thereto he pleaded not guilty, and so reserved unto himself advantage to be taken of the body of the matter after verdict, to avoid that indictment. And moreover added, "if those only odious terms, *maliciously, traitorously, and diabolically* were put out of the indictment, he saw nothing therein justly to charge him." And for proof to the jury that Sir Thomas More was guilty to this treason, Mr. Rich was called by them to give evidence unto them, as he did; against whom Sir Thomas More began in this wise to say: "If I were a man (my Lords) that did not regard an oath, I need not (as it is well known) in this place, at this time, nor in this case to stand as an accused person. And if this oath of yours (Mr. Rich) be true, then pray I that I may never see God in the face, which I would not say, were it otherwise, to win the whole world." Then recited he unto the discourse of all their communication in the Tower according to the truth, and said, "In faith, Mr. Rich, I am sorrier for your perjury than for mine own peril, and you shall understand that neither I, nor no man else to my

knowledge ever took you to be a man of such credit as in any matter of importance I, or any other would at any time vouchsafe to communicate with you. And (as you know) of no small while I have been acquainted with you and your conversation, who have known you from your youth hitherto. For we long dwelled both in one parish together, where, as yourself can tell (I am sorry you compel me so to say) you were esteemed very light of your tongue, a great dicer, and of not commendable fame. And so in your house at the Temple (where hath been your chief bringing up) were you likewise accounted. Can it therefore seem likely unto your honourable Lordships, that I would, in so weighty a cause, so far overshoot myself, as to trust Mr. Rich (a man of me always reputed for one of so little truth, as your Lordships have heard) so far above my sovereign Lord the King, or any of his noble councillors, that I would unto him utter the secrets of my conscience touching the King's supremacy, the special point and only mark at my hands so long sought for? A thing which I never did, nor never would, after the Statute thereof made, reveal it, either to the King's Highness himself, or to any of his honourable councillors, as it is not unknown unto your house, at sundry times, and several, sent from his Grace's own person unto the Tower to me for none other purpose. Can this in your judgments (my Lords) seem likely to be true? And if I had so done indeed, my Lords, as Mr. Rich hath sworn, seeing it was spoke but in familiar secret talk, nothing affirming, and only in putting of cases, without other displeasant circumstances, it cannot justly be taken to be spoken maliciously. And where there is no malice there can be no offence. And over this I can never think (my Lords) that so many worthy bishops, so many honourable personages, and many other worshipful, virtuous, wise, and well-learned men, as at the making of that law were in the Parliament assembled, ever

meant to have any man punished by death, in whom there could be found no malice, taking *malitia pro malevolentia.* For if *malitia* be generally taken for sin, no man is there then that can thereof excuse himself. *Quia si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nosmetipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.* And only this word *maliciously* is in the Statute material, as this term *forcible* is in the statute of forcible entries; by which statute if a man enter peaceably, and put not his adversary out forcibly, it is no offence, but if he put him out forcibly, then by that statute it is an offence. And so shall he be punished by this term *forcible.* Besides this, the manifold goodness of my sovereign Lord the King's Highness himself, that hath been so many ways my singular good Lord and Gracious Sovereign, that hath so dearly loved me, and trusted me even at my first coming into his noble service with the dignity of his honourable Privy Council, vouchsafing to admit me to offices of great credit, and worship most liberally advanced me, and finally with that weighty room of his Grace's high Chancellorship (the like whereof he never did to temporal man before) next to his own royal person the highest officer in this noble realm, so far above my merits or qualities able and meet therefore, of his incomparable benignity honoured and exalted me by the space of twenty years and more, showing his continual favour towards me; and (until, at mine own poor suit, it pleased his Highness, giving me licence, with his Majesty's favour, to bestow the residue of my life wholly for the provision of my soul in the service of God, of his special goodness thereof to discharge and unburden me) most benignly heaped honours more and more upon me; all this his Highness' goodness, I say, so long continued towards me, were, in my mind (my Lords), matter sufficient to convince this slanderous surmise (by this

man so wrongfully imagined against me." Mr. Rich seeing himself so disproved, and his credit so foully defaced, caused Sir Richard Southwell and Mr. Palmer, that at that time of their communication were in the chamber, to be sworn what words had passed betwixt them. Whereupon Mr. Palmer on his deposition said, that he was so busy about the trussing up Sir Thomas More's books in a sack, that he took no heed to their talk. Sir Richard Southwell likewise upon his deposition said, that because he was appointed only to look to the conveyance of his books, he gave no ear unto them. After this, were there many other reasons (not now in my remembrance) by Sir Thomas More in his own defence alleged, to the discredit of Mr. Rich his foresaid evidence, and proof of the clearness of his own conscience. All which notwithstanding the jury found him guilty, and incontinent upon the verdict the Lord Chancellor (for that matter chief commissioner) beginning in judgment against him, Sir Thomas More said to him, "My Lord, when I was towards the law, the manner in such case was to ask the prisoner before judgment, why judgment should not be given against him?" Whereupon the Lord Chancellor staying his judgment, wherein he had partly proceeded, demanded of him what he was able to say to the contrary? Who then in this sort mildly made answer: "Forasmuch as, my Lord" (quoth he), "this indictment is grounded upon an Act of Parliament, directly oppugnant to the laws of God and his holy Church, the supreme government of which, or of any part thereof, may no temporal prince presume by any law to take upon him as rightfully belonging to the See of Rome, a spiritual pre-eminence by the mouth of our Saviour himself, personally present upon the earth, to St. Peter and his successors, bishops of the same see, by special prerogative, granted, it

is therefore in law amongst Christian men insufficient to charge any Christian." And for proof thereof like as amongst divers other reasons and authorities he declared That this Realm, being but one member and small part of the Church, might not make a particular law dischargeable with the general law of Christ's holy Catholic Church, no more than the City of London, being but one poor member in respect of the whole Realm, might make a law against an Act of Parliament to bind the whole Realm unto: so further showed he, that it was contrary both to the laws and statutes of this land, yet unrepealed, as they might evidently perceive in *Magna charta*, *Quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit et habeat omnia jura sua integra, et libertates suas illæsas*, and contrary to that sacred oath which the King's Highness himself, and every other Christian prince always at their coronations received, alleging moreover, that no more might this Realm of England refuse obedience to the See of Rome, than might the child refuse obedience to his natural father. For as St. Paul said of the Corinthians, "I have regenerated you my children in Christ," so might St. Gregory Pope of Rome (of whom by St. Augustine his messenger we first received the Christian faith) of us English men truly say, "You are my children, because I have given to you everlasting salvation, a far better inheritance than any carnal father can leave unto his child, and by spiritual generation have made you my spiritual children in Christ." Then was it thereunto by the Lord Chancellor answered, that seeing all the bishops, universities, and best learned men of the Realm had to this Act agreed, it was much marvelled that he alone against them all would so stiffly stick and vehemently argue there against. To that Sir Thomas More replied saying, "If the number of bishops and universities be so material, as

your Lordships seemeth to take it, then see I little cause (my Lords) why that thing in my conscience should make any change. For I nothing doubt, but that though not in this Realm, yet in Christendom about they be not the least part, that be of my mind therein. But if I should speak of those that be already dead (of whom many be now saints in heaven) I am very sure it is the far greater part of them, that all the while they lived, thought in this case that way that I think now. And therefore am I not bound (my Lords) to conform my conscience to the council of one realm against the General Council of Christendom." Now when Sir Thomas More, for the avoiding of the indictment, had taken as many exceptions as he thought meet and more reasons than I can now remember alleged, the Lord Chancellor, loath to have the burden of the judgment wholly to depend upon himself, then openly asked the advice of the Lord Fitz-James, then the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and joined in commission with him, whether this indictment were sufficient or not? Who like a wise man answered, "My Lords all, by St. Julian" (that was ever his oath) "I must needs confess, that if the Act of Parliament be not unlawful, then is not the indictment in my conscience insufficient." Whereupon the Lord Chancellor said to the rest of the Lords, "Lo, my Lords, lo, you hear what my Lord Chief Justice saith," and so immediately gave the judgment against him. After which ended, the commissioners yet courteously offered him, if he had anything else to allege for his defence to grant him favourable audience, who answered, "More have I not to say (my Lords) but like as the blessed Apostle St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, was present, and consented to the death of St. Stephen, and kept their clothes that stoned him to death, and yet be they

now both twain holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends for ever, so I verily trust and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your Lordships have now in earth been judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter in heaven merrily all meet together to our everlasting salvation." Thus much touching Sir Thomas More's arraignment, being not thereat present myself, have I by the credible report of Sir Anthony Sumtleger Knight, and partly of Sir Richard Heywood, and John Webb Gentleman, with others of good credit, at the hearing thereof present themselves, as far forth as my poor wit and memory would serve me, here truly rehearsed unto you. Now after this arraignment departed he from the bar to the Tower again, led by Sir William Kingston, a tall, strong, and comely knight, Constable of the Tower, his very dear friend, who when he had brought him from Westminster to the Old Swan towards the Tower, there with a heavy heart, the tears running down his cheeks, bade him farewell. Sir Thomas More seeing him so sorrowful, comforted him with as good words as he could, saying, "Good Mr. Kingston, trouble not yourself, but be of good cheer. For I will pray for you, and my good Lady your wife, that we may meet in heaven together, where we shall be merry for ever and ever." Soon after Sir William Kingston talking with me of Sir Thomas More, said, "In faith Mr. Roper I was ashamed of myself, that at my departure from your father, I found my heart so feeble, and his so strong, that he was fain to comfort me which should rather have comforted him." When Sir Thomas More came from Westminster to the Towerward again, his daughter my wife, desirous to see her father, whom she thought she should never see in this world after, and also to have his final blessing, gave attendance about the Tower

wharf, where she knew he should pass by, ere he could enter into the Tower. There tarrying for his coming home, as soon as she saw him, after his blessings on her knees reverently received, she, hasting towards, without consideration of care of herself, pressing in amongst the midst of the throng and the Company of the Guard, that with halbards and bills were round about him, hastily ran to him, and there openly in the sight of all them embraced and took him about the neck and kissed him, who well liking her most daughterly love and affection towards him, gave her his fatherly blessing, and many godly words of comfort besides, from whom after she was departed, she not satisfied with the former sight of her dear father, having respect neither to herself, nor to the press of the people and multitude that were about him, suddenly turned back again, and ran to him as before, took him about the neck, and divers times together most lovingly kissed him, and at last with a full heavy heart was fain to depart from him; the beholding whereof was to many of them that were present thereat so lamentable, that it made them for very sorrow to mourn and weep. So remained Sir Thomas More in the Tower more than a sevennight after his judgment. From whence the day before he suffered he sent his shirt of hair, not willing to have it seen, to my wife, his dearly beloved daughter, and a letter, written with a coal, contained in the foresaid book of his works, plainly expressing the fervent desire he had to suffer on the morrow in these words: "I cumber you, good Margaret, much, but I would be sorry if it should be any longer than to-morrow. For to-morrow is St. Thomas' even, and the Octave of St. Peter, and therefore to-morrow long I to go to God, that were a day very meet and convenient for me. And I never liked your manners better, than when you kissed me last.

For I like when daughterly love, and dear charity hath no leisure to look to worldly courtesy." And so upon the next morning, being Tuesday, St. Thomas' even, and the Octave of St. Peter in the year of our Lord God 1537, according as he in his letter the day before had wished, early in the morning came to him Sir Thomas Pope, his singular friend, on message from the King and his Council, that he should before nine of the clock in the same morning suffer death, and that therefore forthwith he should prepare himself thereto. "Mr. Pope," saith he, "for your good tidings I most heartily thank you. I have been always bounden much to the King's Highness for the benefits and honours which he hath still from time to time most bountifully heaped upon me, and yet more bounded I am to his Grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end, and so help me God most of all, Mr. Pope, am I bound to his Highness, that it pleased him so shortly to rid me of the miseries of this wretched world. And therefore will I not fail most earnestly to pray for his Grace both here, and also in another world." "The King's pleasure is further," quoth Mr. Pope, "that at your execution you shall not use many words." "Mr. Pope" (quoth he), "you do well that you give me warning of his Grace's pleasure. For otherwise had I purposed at that time somewhat to have spoken, but of no matter wherewith his Grace, or any other should have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless whatsoever I intend I am ready obediently to conform myself to his Grace's commandment. And I beseech you, good Mr. Pope, to be a mean unto his Highness, that my daughter Margaret may be present at my burial." "The King is well contented already" (quoth Mr. Pope) "that your wife, children, and other friends shall have free liberty to be present thereat." "O how

much beholden," then said Sir Thomas More, "am I to his Grace, that unto my poor burial vouchsafeth to have so gracious consideration." Wherewithal Mr. Pope taking his leave of him could not refrain from weeping, which Sir Thomas More perceiving, comforted him in this wise, "Quiet yourself, good Mr. Pope, and be not discomforted. For I trust that we shall once in heaven see each other full merrily, where we shall be sure to live and love together in joyful bliss eternally." Upon whose departure Sir Thomas More, as one that had been invited to a solemn feast, changed himself into his best apparel; which Mr. Lieutenant espying, advised him to put it off, saying, That he that should have it was but a worthless fellow. "What Mr. Lieutenant" (quoth he), "shall I account him a worthless fellow, that will do me this day so singular a benefit? Nay, I assure you, were it cloth of gold I would account it well bestowed on him, as St. Cyprian did, who gave his executioner thirty pieces of gold." And albeit at length, through Mr. Lieutenant's persuasions, he altered his apparel, yet, after the example of that holy martyr St. Cyprian, did he of that little money that was left him, send one angel of gold to his executioner. And so was he brought by Mr. Lieutenant out of the Tower, and from thence led towards the place of execution, where going up the scaffold, which was so weak that it was ready to fall, he said to Mr. Lieutenant, "I pray you, I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." Then desired he all the people thereabouts to pray for him, and to bear witness with him, that he should then suffer death in and for the faith of the holy Catholic Church, which done he kneeled down, and after his prayers said, he turned to the executioner, and with a cheerful countenance spake unto him, "Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office, my neck is very short.

Take heed therefore thou shoot not awry for saving thine honesty." So passed Sir Thomas More out of this world to God upon the very same day in which himself had most desired. Soon after whose death came intelligence thereof to the Emperor Charles, whereupon he sent for Sir Thomas Eliott, our English Ambassador, and said unto him, "My Lord Ambassador, we understand that the King your master hath put his faithful servant and grave wise councillor Sir Thomas More to death." Whereunto Sir Thomas Eliott answered, that he understood nothing thereof. "Well," said the Emperor, "it is very true, and this will we say, that if we had been master of such a servant, of whose doings ourselves have had these many years no small experience, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions, than have lost such a worthy councillor." Which matter was by Sir Thomas Eliott to myself, to my wife, to Mr. Clement and his wife, to Mr. John Haywood and his wife, and divers others of his friends accordingly reported.

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UTOPIA.

A fruitful, pleasant, and witty work, of the best state of a public weal, and of the new isle, called Utopia: written in Latin, by the right worthy and famous Sir Thomas More, Knight, and translated into English by Ralph Robinson, sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and now by him at this second edition newly perused and corrected. Imprinted at London, by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Lamb.

UTOPIA.

To the right honourable, and his very singular good master, Master William Cecil esquire, one of the two principal secretaries to the King his most excellent Majesty, Ralph Robinson wisheth continuance of health, with daily increase of virtue, and honour.

UPON a time, when tidings came to the city of Corinth that King Philip father to Alexander surnamed the Great, was coming thitherward with an army royal to lay siege to the city: The Corinthians being forthwith stricken with great fear, began busily, and earnestly to look about them, and to fall to work of all hands. Some to scour and trim up harness, some to carry stones, some to amend and build higher the walls, some to rampier and fortify the bulwarks, and fortresses, some one thing, and some other for the defending, and strengthening of the city. The which busy labour, and toil of theirs when Diogenes the philosopher saw, having no profitable business whereupon to set himself on work (neither any man required his labour, and help as expedient for the commonwealth in that necessity) immediately girded about him his philosophical cloak, and began to roll, and tumble up and down hither and thither upon the hill-side, that lieth adjoining to the city, his great barrel or tun, wherein he dwelled: for other dwelling-place would he have none. This seeing one of his friends, and not a little musing thereat, came to him: And I pray thee, Diogenes (quoth he) why dost thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsooth I am tumbling my tub too (quoth he) because it were no reason that I only should be idle, where so many be working. In similar manner, right honourable sir, though I be, as I am

indeed, of much less ability than Diogenes was to do anything, that shall or may be for the advancement and commodity of the public wealth of my native country: yet I seeing every sort, and kind of people in their vocation, and degree busily occupied about the commonwealth's affairs: and especially learned men daily putting forth in writing new inventions, and devices to the furtherance of the same: thought it my bounden duty to God, and to my country so to tumble my tub, I mean so to occupy, and exercise myself in bestowing such spare hours, as I being at the beck, and commandment of others, could conveniently win to myself: that though no commodity of that my labour, and travail to the public weal should arise, yet it might by this appear, that mine endeavour, and good-will hereunto was not lacking. To the accomplishment therefore, and fulfilling of this my mind, and purpose: I took upon me to turn, and translate out of Latin into our English tongue the fruitful, and profitable book, which Sir Thomas More knight compiled, and made of the new isle Utopia, containing and setting forth the best state, and form of a public weal: A work (as it appeareth) written almost forty years ago by the said Sir Thomas More the author thereof. The which man, forasmuch as he was a man of late time, yea almost of these our days: and for the excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodness of God had plentifully endowed him, and for the high place, and room, whereunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably well known, not only among us his countrymen, but also in foreign countries and nations: therefore I have not much to speak of him. This only I say: that it is much to be lamented of all, and not only of us Englishmen, that a man of so incomparable wit, of so profound knowledge, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet nevertheless so much blinded, rather with obstinacy, than with ignorance that he could not or rather would not see the shining light of God's holy truth in certain principal points of Christian religion: but did rather choose to persevere, and continue in his wilful and stubborn obstinacy even to the very death. This I say is a thing much

to be lamented. But letting this matter pass, I return again to Utopia. Which (as I said before) is a work not only for the matter that it containeth fruitful and profitable, but also for the writer's eloquent Latin style pleasant and delectable. Which he that readeth in Latin, as the author himself wrote it, perfectly understanding the same, doubtless he shall take great pleasure, and delight both in the sweet eloquence of the writer, and also in the witty invention, and fine conveyance, or disposition of the matter: but most of all in the good, and wholesome lessons, which be there in great plenty, and abundance. But now I fear greatly that in this my simple translation through my rudeness and ignorance in our English tongue all the grace and pleasure of the eloquence, wherewith the matter in Latin is finely set forth may seem to be utterly excluded, and lost: and therefore the fruitfulness of the matter itself much peradventure diminished, and impaired. For who knoweth not which knoweth anything, that an eloquent style setteth forth and highly commendeth a mean matter? Whereas on the other side rude, and unlearned speech defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I heard once a wise man say: A good tale evil told were better untold, and an evil tale well told needeth none other solicitor. This thing I well pondering and weighing with myself, and also knowing, and acknowledging the barbarous rudeness of my translation was fully determined never to have put it forth in print had it not been for certain friends of mine, and especially one, whom above all other I regarded, a man of sage, and discreet wit, and in worldly matters by long use well experienced, whose name is George Tadlow: an honest citizen of London, and in the same city well accepted, and of good reputation: at whose request, and instance I first took upon my weak and feeble shoulders the heavy and weighty burden of this great enterprise. This man with divers other, but this man chiefly (for he was able to do more with me, than many other) after that I had once rudely brought the work to an end, ceased not by all means possible continually to

assault me, until he had at the last, what by the force of his pithy arguments and strong reasons, and what by his authority so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consent to the imprinting hereof. He therefore, as the chief persuader, must take upon him the danger, which upon this bold and rash enterprise shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herein clearly acquit and discharged of all blame. Yet, honourable sir, for the better avoiding of envious and malicious tongues, I (knowing you to be a man, not only profoundly learned and well affected towards all such, as either can or will take pains in the well bestowing of that poor talent, which God hath endued them with: but also for your godly disposition and virtuous qualities not unworthily now placed in authority and called to honour) am the bolder humbly to offer and dedicate unto your good mastership this my simple work. Partly that under the safe conduct of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquy of them, which can say well by nothing that pleaseth not their fond and corrupt judgments, though it be else both fruitful and godly: and partly that by the means of this homely present I may the better renew and revive (which of late, as you know, have already begun to do) that old acquaintance, that was between you and me in the time of our childhood, being then schoolfellows together. Not doubting that you for your native goodness, and gentleness will accept in good part this poor gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good-will, and hearty affection towards you is not, by reason of long tract of time and separation of our bodies, anything at all quailed and diminished, but rather (I assure you) much augmented and increased. This verily is the chief cause, that hath encouraged me to be so bold with your mastership. Else truly this my poor present is of such simple and mean sort, that it is neither able to recompense the least portion of your great gentleness to me, of my part undeserved, both in the time of our old acquaintance, and also now lately again bountifully showed: neither yet fit and meet for the very baseness of it to be offered to one

so worthy as you be. But Almighty God (who therefore ever be thanked) hath advanced you to such fortune and dignity, that you be of ability to accept thankfully as well a man's good-will as his gift. The same God grant you and all yours long, and joyfully to continue in all godliness and prosperity.

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE GENTLE READER.

THOU shalt understand gentle reader that though this work of Utopia in English, come now the second time forth in print, yet was it never my mind nor intent, that it should ever have been imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose took upon me at the first the translation thereof, but did it only at the request of a friend, for his own private use, upon hope that he would have kept it secret to himself alone. Whom though I knew to be a man indeed, both very witty, and also skilful, yet was I certain, that in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, he was not so well seen, as to be able to judge of the fineness or coarseness of my translation. Wherefore I went the more slightly through with it, propounding to myself therein, rather to please my said friend's judgment than mine own. To the meanness of whose learning I thought it my part to submit and attemper my style. Lightly therefore I overran the whole work, and in short time, with more haste than good speed, I brought it to an end. But as the Latin proverb saith: The hasty bitch bringeth forth blind whelps. For when this my work was finished, the rudeness thereof showed it to be done in post haste. Howbeit, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to imprinting it came, and that partly against my will. Howbeit not being able in this behalf to resist the pithy persuasions of my friends, and perceiving therefore none other remedy, but that forth it should: I comforted myself for the time, only with this notable saying of Terence—

"Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.
Si illud, quod est maxumè opus iactu non cadit:
[illegible] quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas."

In which verses the poet likeneth or compareth the life of man to a dice playing or a game at the tables: meaning therein, if that chance rise not, which is most for the player's advantage, that then the chance, which fortune hath sent, ought so cunningly to be played, as may be to the player least damage. By the which worthy similitude surely the witty poet giveth us to understand, that though in any of our acts and doings (as it oft chanceth) we happen to fail and miss of our good intent purpose, so that the success and our intent prove things far odd: yet so we ought with witty circumspection to handle the matter, that no evil or incommodity, as far forth as may be, and as in us lieth, do thereof ensue. According to the which counsel, though I am indeed in comparison of an expert gamester and a cunning player, but a very bungler, yet have I in this by chance, that on my side unawares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaved myself, that, as doubtless it might have been of me much more cunningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequel at the beginning of my play: so I am sure it had been much worse than it is, if I had not in the end looked somewhat earnestly to my game. For though this work came not from me so fine, so perfect, and so exact at the first, as surely for my small learning it should have done, if I had then meant the publishing thereof in print: yet I trust I have now in this second edition taken about it such pains, that very few great faults and notable errors are in it to be found. Now therefore, most gentle reader, the meanness of this simple translation, and the faults that be therein (as I fear much there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premises, gently and favourably wink at them. So doing thou shalt minister unto me good cause to think my labour and pains herein not altogether bestowed in vain. *Vale!*

THOMAS MORE TO PETER GILES, SENDETH GREETING.

almost ashamed, right well-beloved Peter Giles, to send ou this book of the Utopian Commonwealth, well-nigh after unto space, which I am sure you looked for within a month a year's and a half. And no marvel. For you knew well enough that I was already disburdened of all the labour and study belonging to the invention in this work, and that I had no need at all to trouble my brains about the disposition or conveyance of the matter: and therefore had herein nothing else to do, but only to rehearse those things, which you and I together heard Master Raphael tell and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I should study to set forth the matter with eloquence: for as much as his talk could not be fine and eloquent, being first not studied for, but sudden and unpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better seen in the Greek language, than in the Latin tongue. And my writing, the nigher it should approach to his homely plain, and simple speech, so much the nigher should it go to the truth: which is the only mark, whereunto I do and ought to direct all my travail and study herein. I grant and confess, friend Peter, myself discharged of so much labour, having all these things ready done to my hand, that almost there was nothing left for me to do. Else either the invention, or the disposition of this matter might have required of a wit neither base, neither at all unlearned, both some time and leisure and also some study. But if it were requisite and necessary, that the matter should also have been written eloquently, and not alone truly: of a surety that thing could I have performed by no time nor study. But now seeing all these cares, stays and lets were taken away, wherein else so much labour and study should have been employed, and that there remained no other thing for me to do, but only to write plainly the matter as

I heard it spoken: that indeed was a thing light and easy to be done. Howbeit to the dispatching of this so little business, my other cares and troubles did leave almost less than no leisure. Whiles I do daily bestow my time about law matters: some to plead, some to hear, some as an arbitrator with mine award to determine, some as an umpire or a judge, with my sentence to discuss. Whiles I go one way to see and visit my friend: another way about mine own private affairs. Whiles I spend almost all the day abroad among others, and the residue at home among mine own; I leave to myself, I mean to my book, no time. For when I am come home, I must commune with my wife, chat with my children, and talk with my servants. All the which things I reckon and account among business, forasmuch as they must of necessity be done: and done must they needs be, unless a man will be stranger in his own house. And in any wise a man must so fashion and order his conditions, and so appoint and dispose himself, that he be merry, jocund, and pleasant among them, whom either nature hath provided, or chance hath made, or he himself hath chosen to be the fellows and companions of his life: so that with too much gentle behaviour and familiarity, he do not mar them, and by too much sufferance of his servants maketh them his masters. Among these things now rehearsed, stealeth away the day, the month, the year. When do I write then? And all this while have I spoken no word of sleep, neither yet of meat, which among a great number doth waste no less time than doth sleep, wherein almost half the lifetime of man creepeth away. I therefore do win and get only that time, which I steal from sleep and meat. Which time because it is very little, and yet somewhat it is, therefore have I once at the last, though it be long first, finished Utopia; and have sent it to you, friend Peter, to read and peruse: to the intent that if anything have escaped me, you might put me in remembrance of it. For though in this behalf I do not greatly mistrust myself (which would God I were somewhat in wit and learning, as I am not all of the worst and dullest memory), yet have I not so great trust and confidence in it, that I think nothing could fall out of my mind.

For John Clement my boy, who as you know was there present with us, whom I suffer to be away from no talk, wherein may be any profit or goodness (for out of this young bladed and new shot-up corn, which hath already begun to spring up both in Latin and Greek learning, I look for plentiful increase at length of goodly ripe grain) he, I say, hath brought me into a great doubt. For whereas Hythloday (unless my memory fail me) said that the bridge of Amaurote, which goeth over the river of Anyder, is five hundred paces, that is to say, half a mile in length: my John saith that two hundred of those paces must be plucked away, for that the river containeth there not above three hundred paces in breadth, I pray you heartily call the matter to your remembrance. For if you agree with him, I also will say as you say, and confess myself deceived. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surely I will write as I have done and as mine own remembrance serveth me. For as I will take good heed, that there be in my book nothing false, so if there be anything doubtful, I will rather tell a lie, than make a lie; because I had rather be good, than wily. Howbeit this matter may easily be remedied, if you will take the pains to ask the question of Raphael himself by word of mouth, if he be now with you, or else by your letters. Which you must needs do for another doubt also, that hath chanced, through whose fault I cannot tell: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphael's. For neither we remembered to inquire of him, nor he to tell us in what part of the new world Utopia is situate. The which thing, I had rather have spent no small sum of money, than that it should thus have escaped us: as well for that I am ashamed to be ignorant in what sea that island standeth, whereof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with us certain men, and especially one virtuous and godly man, and a professor of divinity, who is exceeding desirous to go unto Utopia: not for a vain and curious desire to see news, but to the intent he may further and increase our religion, which is there already luckily begun. And that he may the better accomplish and perform this his good intent, he is minded to procure that he may be sent thither by the high

bishop: yea, and that he himself may be made bishop of Utopia, being nothing scrupulous herein, that he must obtain this bishopric with sweat. For he counteth that a godly sweat, which proceedeth not of the desire of honour or lucre, but only of a godly zeal. Wherefore I most earnestly desire you, friend Peter, to talk with Hythloday, if you can, face to face, or else to write your letters to him, and so to work in this matter, that in this my book there may neither anything be found, which is untrue, neither anything be lacking, which is true. And I think verily it shall be well done, that you show unto him the book itself. For if I have missed or failed in any point, or if any fault have escaped me, no man can so well correct and amend it, as he can: and yet that can he not do, unless he peruse and read over my book written. Moreover by this means shall you perceive, whether he be well willing and content, that I should undertake to put this work in writing. For if he be minded to publish, and put forth his own labours, and travels himself, perchance he would be loath, and so would I also, that in publishing the Utopian weal public, I should prevent him, and take from him the flower and grace of the novelty of this his history. Howbeit, to say the very truth, I am not yet fully determined with myself, whether I will put forth my book or no. For the natures of men be so diverse, the fantasies of some so wayward, their minds so unkind, their judgments so corrupt, that they which lead a merry and a jocund life, following their own sensual pleasures and carnal lusts, may seem to be in a much better state or case, than they that vex and disquiet themselves with cares and study for the putting forth and publishing of some thing, that may be either profit or pleasure to others: which others nevertheless will disdainfully, scornfully, and unkindly accept the same. The most part of all be unlearned. And a great number hath learning in contempt. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is very barbarous indeed. If it be one that hath a little smack of learning, he rejecteth as homely gear and common ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of old moth-eaten terms, and that be worn out of use. Some there be that

have pleasure only in old rusty antiquities. And some only in their own doings. One is so sour, so crabbed, and so unpleasant, that he can away with no mirth nor sport. Another is so narrow between the shoulders, that he can bear no jests nor taunts. Some silly poor souls be so afraid that at every snappish word their nose shall be bitten off, that they stand in no less dread of every quick and sharp word, than he that is bitten of a mad dog feareth water. Some be so mutable and wavering, that every hour they be in a new mind, saying one thing sitting and another thing standing. Another sort sitteth upon their ale-benches, and there among their cups they give judgment of the wits of writers, and with great authority they condemn, even as pleaseth them, every writer according to his writing, in most spiteful manner mocking, louting, and flouting them; being themselves in the mean season safe and, as saith the proverb, out of all danger of gunshot. For why, they be so smug and smooth, that they have not so much as one hair of an honest man, whereby one may take hold of them. There be moreover some so unkind and ungentle, that though they take great pleasure, and delectation in the work, yet for all that, they cannot find in their hearts to love the author thereof, nor to afford him a good word: being much like uncourteous, unthankful, and churlish guests. Which when they have with good and dainty meats well filled their bellies, depart home, giving no thanks to the feast-maker. Go your ways now and make a costly feast at your own charges for guests so dainty mouthed, so diverse in taste, and besides that of so unkind and unthankful natures. But nevertheless (friend Peter) do, I pray you, with Hythloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my liberty, afterwards to take new advisement. Howbeit, seeing I have taken great pains and labour in writing the matter, if it may stand with his mind and pleasure, I will as touching the edition or publishing of the book, follow the counsel and advice of my friends, and specially yours. Thus fare you well right heartily beloved friend Peter, with your gentle wife: and love me as you have ever done, for I love you better than ever I did.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THE First Book of the Communication of Raphael Hythloday, concerning the best state of a Commonwealth.

THE most victorious and triumphant King of England, Henry the Eighth of that name, in all royal virtues, a prince most peerless, had of late in controversy with Charles, the right high and mighty King of Castile, weighty matters and of great importance. For the debatement and final determination whereof, the King's Majesty sent me ambassador into Flanders, joined in commission with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doubtless out of comparison, and whom the King's Majesty of late, to the great rejoicing of all men, did prefer to the office of Master of the Rolls.

But of this man's praises I will say nothing, not because I do fear that small credence shall be given to the testimony that cometh out of a friend's mouth: but because his virtue and learning be greater, and of more excellence, than that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well known, that they need not, nor ought not of me to be praised, unless I would seem to show and set forth the brightness of the sun with a candle, as the proverb saith. There met us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their Prince had for that matter appointed commissioners: excellent men all. The chief and the head of them was the Margrave (as they call him) of Bruges, a right honourable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, provost of Cassel, a man, not only by learning, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the laws profoundly learned: but in reasoning and debating of matters, what by his natural wit, and what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellows. After that we had once or twice

heaven out of all places is of like length and distance. Which fantasy of his (if God had not been his better friend) he had surely bought full dear. But after the departing of master Vespucci, when he had travelled through and about many countries with five of his companions Gulikians, at the last by marvellous chance he arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chanced to find certain of his country ships, wherein he returned again into his country, nothing less than looked for.

All this when Peter had told me, I thanked him for his gentle kindness, that he had vouchsafed to bring me to the speech of that man, whose communication he thought should be to me pleasant and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to Raphael. And when we had saluted each other, and had spoken these common words, that be customably spoken at the first meeting and acquaintance of strangers, we went thence to my house, and there in my garden upon a bench covered with green turf we sat down talking together. There he told us, how that after the departing of Vespucci, he and his fellows, that tarried behind in Gulike, began by little and little, through fair and gentle speech, to win the love and favour of the people of that country, insomuch that within short space, they did dwell amongst them, not only harmless, but also occupying with them very familiarly. He told us also, that they were in high reputation and favour with a certain great man (whose name and country is now quite out of my remembrance) which of his mere liberality did bear the costs and charges of him and his five companions. And besides that gave them a trusty guide to conduct them in their journey (which by water was in boats, and by land in waggons) and to bring them to other princes, with very friendly commendations. Thus after many days' journeys, he said, they found towns and cities and weal publics, full of people, governed by good and wholesome laws. For under the line equinoctial, and on both sides of the same, as far as the sun doth extend his course, lieth (quoth he) great and wide deserts and wildernesses, parched, burned, and dried up with continual and intolerable heat. All things be hideous,

terrible, loathsome, and unpleasant to behold: all things out of fashion and comeliness, inhabited with wild beasts and serpents, or at the leastwise, with people, that be no less savage, wild and noisome, than the very beasts themselves be. But a little farther beyond that, all things begin by little and little to wax pleasant; the air soft, temperate, and gentle; the ground covered with green grass; less wildness in the beasts. At the last shall ye come again to people, cities, and towns wherein is continual intercourse and occupying of merchandise and trade, not only among themselves and with their borderers, but also with merchants of far countries, both by land and water. There I had occasion (said he) to go to many countries on every side. For there was no ship ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellows were into it very gladly received. The ships that they found first were made plain, flat and broad in the bottom, trough-wise. The sails were made of great rushes, or of wickers, and in some places of leather. Afterward they found ships with ridged keels, and sails of canvas, yea, and shortly after, having all things like ours. The shipmen also very expert and cunning, both in the sea and in the weather. But he said that he found great favour and friendship among them, for teaching them the feat and the use of the load-stone, which to them before that time was unknown. And therefore they were wont to be very timorous and fearful upon the sea; nor to venture upon it, but only in the summer time. But now they have such a confidence in that stone, that they fear not stormy winter: in so doing farther from care than danger; insomuch, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thing, through their own foolish hardiness, shall turn them to evil and harm, which at the first was supposed should be to them good and commodious.

But what he told us that he saw in every country where he came, it were very long to declare; neither is it my purpose this time to make rehearsal thereof. But peradventure another place I will speak of it, chiefly such things as profitable to be known, as in special be those ordinances, that he marked to be well and wit

enacted among such peoples, as do live together in a civil policy and good order. For of such things did we busily inquire and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told us of the same. But as for monsters, because they be no news, of them we were nothing inquisitive. For nothing is more easy to be found, then be barking Scyllas, ravening Celenos, and Lestrygonians devourers of people, and such like great, and incredible monsters. But to find citizens ruled by good and wholesome laws, that is an exceeding rare, and hard thing. But as he marked many fond, and foolish laws in those new found lands, so he rehearsed divers acts, and constitutions, whereby these our cities, nations, countries, and kingdoms may take example to amend their faults, enormities, and errors. Whereof in another place (as I said) I will treat.

Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only that he told us of the manners, customs, laws, and ordinances of the Utopians. But first I will repeat our former communication by the occasion, and (as I might say) the drift whereof, he was brought into the mention of that weal public.

For, when Raphael had very prudently touched divers things that be amiss, some here and some there, yea, very many on both parts; and again had spoken of such wise laws and prudent decrees, as be established and used, both here among us and also there among them, as a man so perfect, and expert in the laws, and customs of every several country, as though into what place soever he came guestwise, there he had led all his life: then Peter much marvelling at the man: Surely Master Raphael (quoth he) I wonder greatly, why you get you not into some king's court. For I am sure there is no prince living, that would not be very glad of you, as a man not only able highly to delight him with your profound learning, and this your knowledge of countries, and peoples, but also meet to [illegible]struct him with examples, and help him with counsel. And [illegible]oing, you shall bring yourself in a very good case, and [illegible] ability to help all your friends and kinsfolk.

[illegible]ning my friends and kinsfolk (quoth he) I pass [illegible]hem. For I think I have sufficiently done

my part towards them already. For these things, that other men do not depart from, until they be old and sick, yea, which they be then very loath to leave, when they can no longer keep, those very same things did I being not only lusty and in good health, but also in the flower of my youth, divide among my friends and kinsfolk. Which I think with this my liberality ought to hold them contented, and not to require nor to look that besides this, I should for their sakes give myself in bondage unto kings.

Nay, God forbid that (quoth Peter), it is not my mind that you should be in bondage to kings, but as a retainer to them at your pleasure. Which surely I think is the nighest way that you can devise how to bestow your time fruitfully, not only for the private commodity of your friends and for the general profit of all sorts of people, but also for the advancement of yourself to a much wealthier state and condition, than you be now in.

To a wealthier condition (quoth Raphael) by that means, that my mind standeth clean against? Now I live at liberty after my own mind and pleasure, which I think very few of these great states and peers of realms can say. Yea, and there be enough of them that sue for great men's friendships: and therefore think it no great hurt, if they have not me, nor three or four such other as I am.

Well, I perceive plainly friend Raphael (quoth I) that you be desirous neither of riches nor of power. And truly I have in no less reverence and estimation a man of your mind, than any of them all that be so high in power and authority. But you shall do as it becometh you: yea, and according to this wisdom, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can find in your heart so to appoint and dispose yourself, that you may apply your wit and diligence to the profit of the weal public, though it be somewhat to your own pain and hindrance. And this shall you never so well do, nor with so great profit perform, as if you be of some great prince's council, and put into his head (as I doubt not but you will) honest opinions and virtuous persuasions. For from the

prince, as from a perpetual well spring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil. But in you is so perfect learning, that without any experience, and again so great experience, that without any learning you may well be any king's councillor.

You be twice deceived, Master More (quoth he), first in me, and again in the thing itself. For neither is in me the ability that you force upon me, and if it were never so much, yet in disquieting mine own quietness I should nothing further the weal public. For first of all, the most part of all princes have more delight in warlike matters and feats of chivalry (the knowledge whereof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feats of peace: and employ much more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than how well and peaceably to rule and govern that they have already. Moreover, they that be councillors to kings, every one of them either is of himself so wise indeed, that he needeth not, or else he thinketh himself so wise, that he will not allow another man's counsel, saving that they do shamefully and flatteringly give assent to the fond and foolish sayings of certain great men. Whose favours, because they be in high authority with their prince, by assentation and flattery they labour to obtain. And verily it is naturally given to all men to esteem their own inventions best. So both the raven and the ape think their own young ones fairest. Then if a man in such a company, where some disdain and have despite at other men's inventions, and some count their own best, if among such men (I say) a man should bring forth anything, that he hath read done in times past, or that he hath seen done in other places: there the hearers fare as though the whole existimation of their wisdom were in jeopardy to be overthrown, and that ever after they should be counted for very fools, unless they could in other men's inventions pick out matter to reprehend, and find fault at. If all other poor helps fail, then this is their extreme refuge. These things (say they) pleased our forefathers and ancestors; would God we could be so wise as they were: and as though they had wittily concluded the matter, and with this

answer stopped every man's mouth, they sit down again. As who should say, it were a very dangerous matter, if a man in any point should be found wiser than his forefathers were.

And yet be we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their decrees to lie unexecuted: but if in anything a better order might have been taken, than by them was, there we take fast hold, finding therein many faults. Many times have I chanced upon such proud, lewd, overthwart and wayward judgments, yea, and once in England.

I pray you sir (quoth I) have you been in our country?

Yea forsooth (quoth he) and there I tarried for the space of four or five months together, not long after the insurrection, that the western Englishmen made against their king, which by their own miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the mean season I was much bound and beholding to the right reverend father, John Morton, Archbishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also Lord Chancellor of England: a man, Master Peter (for Master More knoweth already that I will say), not more honourable for his authority, than for his prudence and virtue. He was of a mean stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence, as was pleasant to behold, gentle in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delight many times with rough speech to his suitors, to prove, but without harm, what prompt wit and what bold spirit were in every man. In the which, as in a virtue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not joined impudence, he took great delectation. And the same person, as apt and meet to have an administration in the weal public, he did lovingly embrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pithy. In the law he had profound knowledge, in wit he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singular, he by learning and use had made perfect. The king put much trust in his counsel, the weal public also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there. For even in the chief of his youth he was taken from school into the court, and there

passed all his time in much trouble and business, being continually tumbled and tossed in the waves of divers misfortunes and adversities. And so by many and great dangers he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned can not easily be forgotten. It chanced on a certain day, when I sat at his table, there was also a certain layman cunning in the laws of your realm. Who, I cannot tell whereof taking occasion, began diligently and earnestly to praise that strait and rigorous justice, which at that time was there executed upon felons, who, as he said, were for the most part twenty hanged together upon one gallows. And, seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not choose, but greatly wonder and marvel, how and by what evil luck it should so come to pass, that thieves nevertheless were in every place so rife and so rank. Nay, sir, quoth I (for I durst boldly speak my mind before the Cardinal), marvel nothing hereat: for this punishment of thieves passeth the limits of justice, and is also very hurtful to the weal public. For it is too extreme and cruel a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to refrain and withhold men from theft. For simple theft is not so great an offence, that it ought to be punished with death. Neither there is any punishment so horrible, that it can keep them from stealing, which have no other craft, whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat, than to teach their scholars. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for thieves, whereas much rather provision should have been made, that there were some means, whereby they might get their living, so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity, first to steal, and then to die. Yes (quoth he) this matter is well enough provided for already. There be handicrafts, there is husbandry to get their living by, if they would not willingly be nought. Nay, quoth I, you shall not 'scape so: for first of all, I will speak nothing of them, that come home out of the wars, maimed and lame, as not long ago, out of Blackheath field, and a little before that, out of the wars in France: such, I say, as put their lives in jeopardy for the

weal public's or the king's sake, and by reason of weakness and lameness be not able to occupy their old crafts, and be too aged to learn new: of them I will speak nothing, forasmuch as wars have their ordinary recourse. But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First there is a great number of gentlemen, which cannot be content to live idle themselves, like drones, of that which other have laboured for: their tenants I mean, whom they poll and shave to the quick by raising their rents (for this only point of frugality do they use, men else through their lavish and prodigal spending, able to bring themselves to very beggary) these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men, which never learned any craft whereby to get their livings. These men as soon as their master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. For gentlemen had rather keep idle persons, than sick men, and many times the dead man's heir is not able to maintain so great a house, and keep so many serving-men as his father did. Then in the mean season they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for hunger, or manfully play the thieves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn threadbare their apparel, and also impaired their health, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickly faces, and patched coats, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a work, knowing well enough that he is nothing meet to do true and faithful service to a poor man with a spade and a mattock for small wages and hard fare, which being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure, was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side to strut through the street with a bragging look, and to think himself too good to be any man's mate. Nay, by Saint Mary, sir (quoth the lawyer) not so. For this kind of men must we make most of. For in them as men of stouter stomachs, bolder spirits, and manlier courages than handicraftsmen and ploughmen be, doth consist the whole power, strength, and puissance of our army, when we must fight in battle. Forsooth, sir, as well you

might say (quoth I) that for war's sake you must cherish thieves. For surely you shall never lack thieves, whiles you have them. No, nor thieves be not the most false and faint-hearted soldiers, nor soldiers be not the cowardliest thieves: so well these two crafts agree together. But this fault, though it be much used among you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but common also almost to all nations. Yet France besides this is troubled and infected with a much sorer plague. The whole realm is filled and besieged with hired soldiers in peace time (if that be peace) which be brought in under the same colour and pretence that hath persuaded you to keep these idle serving-men. For these wise fools and very archdolts thought the wealth of the whole country herein to consist, if there were ever in a readiness a strong and sure garrison, specially of old practiced soldiers, for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therefore they must be forced to seek for war, to the end they may ever have practiced soldiers and cunning manslayers, lest that (as it is prettily said of Sallust) their hands and their minds through idleness or lack of exercise, should wax dull. But how pernicious and pestilent a thing it is to maintain such beasts, the Frenchmen, by their own harms have learned, and the examples of the Romans, Carthaginians, Syrians, and of many other countries do manifestly declare. For not only the empire but also the fields and cities of all these, by divers occasions have been overrun and destroyed of their own armies beforehand had in a readiness. Now how unnecessary a thing this is, hereby it may appear: that the French soldiers, which from their youth have been practiced and inured in feats of arms, do not crack nor advance themselves to have very often got the upper hand and mastery of your new-made and unpracticed soldiers. But in this point I will not use many words, lest perchance I may seem to flatter you. No, nor those same handicraftsmen of yours in cities, not yet the rude and uplandish ploughmen of the country, are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your gentlemen's idle serving-men, unless it be such as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or else whose bold stomachs be discouraged

through poverty. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they should be effeminated, if they were brought up in good crafts and laboursome works, whereby to get their livings, whose stout and sturdy bodies (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spoil none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idleness be brought to weakness: or else by easy and womanly exercises be made feeble and unable to endure hardness. Truly howsoever the case standeth, this methinketh is nothing available to the weal public, for war's sake, which you never have, but when you will yourselves, to keep and maintain an innumerable flock of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and annoyous in peace, whereof you ought to have a thousand times more regard than of war. But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, which, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quoth the Cardinal? forsooth my lord (quoth I) your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up, and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. For look in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea and certain abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits, that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure nothing profiting, yea much annoying the weal public, leave no ground for tillage, they inclose all into pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheep-house. And as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lawns, and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling-places and all glebeland into desolation and wilderness. Therefore that one covetous and insatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and inclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of

their own, or else either by cunning and fraud, or by violent oppression they be put besides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all: by one means therefore or by other, either by hook or crook they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers, with their young babes, and their whole household small in substance and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale: yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and then justly pardy be hanged, or else go about a begging. And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set a work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto. For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wool is so risen, that poor folks, which were wont to work it and make cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this means very many be forced to forsake work, and to give themselves to idleness. For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheep died of the rot, such vengeance God took of their inordinate and insatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain, which much more justly should have fallen on the sheepmasters' own heads. And though the number of sheep increase never so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers. For they be almost all come into a few rich men's hands, whom no need forceth to sell before they lust, and they lust not before they may sell as dear as they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kinds of cattle, yea and that so much the

more, because that after farms plucked down and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young store. For these rich men bring not up the young ones of great cattle as they do lambs. But first they buy them abroad very cheap and afterward, when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommodity hereof is not yet felt. For yet they make dearth only in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster than they can be brought up: then shall there also be felt great dearth, store beginning there to fail, where the ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable covetousness of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your island, in the which thing the chief felicity of your realm did consist. For this great dearth of victuals causeth men to keep as little houses and as small hospitality as they possible may, and to put away their servants: whether, I pray you, but a begging: or else (which these gentle bloods and stout stomachs will sooner set their minds unto) a stealing? Now to amend the matter, to this wretched beggary and miserable poverty is joined great wantonness, importunate superfluity, and excessive riot. For not only gentlemen's servants, but also handicraftsmen: yea and almost the ploughmen of the country, with all other sorts of people, use much strange and proud newfangleness in their apparel, and too much prodigal riot and sumptuous fare at their table. Now bawds, queans, whores, harlots, strumpets, brothel-houses, stews, and yet another stews, winetaverns, ale houses and tippling houses, with so many naughty, lewd, and unlawful games, as dice, cards, tables, tennis, bowls, quoits, do not all these send the haunters of them straight a stealing when their money is gone? Cast out these pernicious abominations, make a law, that they, which plucked down farms and towns of husbandry, shall reedify them, or else yield and uprender the possession thereof to such as will go to the cost of building them anew. Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to engross and forestall, and with their monopoly to keep the market alone

as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idleness, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clothworking be renewed, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to pass their time in profitably, which hitherto either poverty hath caused to be thieves, or else now be either vagabonds, or idle serving men, and shortly will be thieves. Doubtless unless you find a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vain advance yourselves of executing justice upon felons. For this justice is more beautiful in appearance, and more flourishing to the show, than either just or profitable. For by suffering your youth wantonly and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even from their tender age, by little and little with vice: then a God's name to be punished, when they commit the same faults after being come to man's state, which from their youth they were ever like to do: In this point, I pray you, what other thing do you, than make thieves and then punish them? Now as I was thus speaking, the lawyer began to make himself ready to answer, and was determined with himself to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, which be more diligent in rehearsing than answering, as thinking the memory worthy of the chief praise. Indeed, sir, quoth he, you have said well, being but a stranger and one that might rather hear something of these matters, than have any exact or perfect knowledge of the same, as I will incontinent by open proof make manifest and plain. For first I will rehearse in order all that you have said: then I will declare wherein you be deceived, through lack of knowledge, in all our fashions, manners and customs: and last of all I will answer your arguments and confute them every one. First therefore I will begin where I promised. Four things you seemed to me. Hold your peace, quoth the Cardinal: for it appeareth that you will make no short answer, which make such a beginning. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the pains to make your answer, but keep it to your next meeting, which I would be right glad, that it might be even to-morrow next, unless either you or Master Raphael have any earnest let. But now, Master Raphael, I would very gladly hear of you, why you think theft not worthy to be punished

with death, or what other punishment you can devise more expedient to the weal public. For I am sure you are not of that mind, that you would have theft escape unpunished. For if now the extreme punishment of death cannot cause them to leave stealing, then if ruffians and robbers should be sure of their lives; what violence, what fear were able to hold their hands from robbing, which would take the mitigation of the punishment, as a very provocation to the mischief? Surely my lord, quoth I, I think it not right nor justice, that the loss of money should cause the loss of man's life. For mine opinion is, that all the goods in the world are not able to countervail man's life. But if they would thus say: that the breaking of justice, and the transgression of the laws is recompensed with this punishment, and not the loss of the money, then why may not this extreme and rigorous justice well be called plain injury? For so cruel governance, so strait rules, and unmerciful laws be not allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by-and-by the sword should be drawn: nor so stoical ordinances are to be borne withal, as to count all offences of such equality that the killing of a man, or the taking of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offence than the other: between the which two, if we have any respect to equity, no similitude or equality consisteth. God commandeth us that we shall not kill. And be we then so hasty to kill a man for taking a little money? And if any man would understand killing by this commandment of God to be forbidden after no larger wise, than man's constitutions define killing to be lawful, then why may it not likewise by man's constitutions be determined after what sort whoredom, fornication and perjury may be lawful? For whereas, by the permission of God, no man hath power to kill neither himself, nor yet any other man: then if a law made by the consent of men, concerning slaughter of men, ought to be of such strength, force and virtue, that they which contrary to the commandment of God have killed those, whom this constitution of man commanded to be killed, be clean quit and exempt out of the bonds and danger of God's commandment: shall it not

then by this reason follow, that the power of God's co
ment shall extend no further than man's law doth defi
permit? And so shall it come to pass, that in like
man's constitutions in all things shall determine how
observation of all God's commandments shall extend
be short, Moses' law, though it were ungentle and sh
a law that was given to bondmen; yea, and then
obstinate, stubborn, and stiff-necked; yet it punished t
the purse, and not with death. And let us not think that
the new law of clemency and mercy, under the which he
us with fatherly gentleness, as his dear children, hath give
greater scope and licence to the execution of cruelty, one
another. Now ye have heard the reasons whereby I am
suaded that this punishment is unlawful. Furthermore I th
there is nobody that knoweth not how unreasonable, yea, h
pernicious a thing it is to the weal public, that a thief and
homicide or murderer, should suffer equal and like punishme
For the thief seeing that man, that is condemned for theft
no less jeopardy, nor judged to no less punishment, than h
that is convict of manslaughter; through this cogitation on
he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a manner co
strained to kill him whom else he would have but robbe
For the murder being once done, he is in less fear, and i
more hope that the deed shall not be bewrayed or known
seeing the party is now dead and rid out of the way, which
only might have uttered and disclosed it. But if he chance
to be taken and discrived, yet he is in no more danger and
jeopardy, than if he had committed but single felony. There-
fore whiles we go about with such cruelty to make thieves
afraid, we provoke them to kill good men. Now as touching
this question, what punishment were more commodious and
better; that truly in my judgment is easier to be found, than
what punishment might be worse. For why should we doubt
that to be a good and a profitable way for the punishment
of offenders, which we know did in times past so long please
the Romans, men in the administration of a weal public most
expert, politic, and cunning? Such as among them were

of great and heinous trespasses, them they condemned one quarries, and into mines to dig metal, there to be chains all the days of their life. But as concerning atter, I allow the ordinance of no nation so well as hich I saw, whiles I travelled abroad about the world, n Persia among the people that commonly be called olylerites. Whose land is both large and ample, and well and wittily governed: and the people in all condi- free and ruled by their own laws, saving that they pay early tribute to the great king of Persia. But because y be far from the sea, compassed and inclosed almost nd about with high mountains, and do content themselves h the fruits of their own land, which is of itself very fertile d fruitful: for this cause neither they go to other countries, r other come to them. And according to the old custom the land, they desire not to enlarge the bounds of their ominions: and those that they have by reason of the high ills be easily defended: and the tribute which they pay to heir chief lord and king setteth them quit and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather than gallant, nd may better be called happy or wealthy, than notable or famous. For they be not known as much as by name, I suppose saving only to their next neighbours and borderers. They that in this land be attainted and convict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner, and not (as they do in other lands) to the king: whom they think to have no more right to the thief-stolen thing, than the thief himself hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paid of the goods of such offenders, which else remaineth all whole to their wives and children. And they themselves be condemned to be common labourers, and, unless the theft be very heinous, they be neither locked in prison, nor fettered in gyves, but be untied and go at large, labouring in the common works. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slackly to their work, be not only tied in chains, but also pricked forward with stripes. But being diligent about their work they live without check or rebuke. Every

night they be called in by name, and be locked i
chambers. Beside their daily labour, their life is n
hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good
at the charges of the weal public, because they be c
servants to the commonwealth. But their charges in all
of the land is not borne alike. For in some parts that
is bestowed upon them is gathered of alms. And though
way be uncertain, yet the people be so full of mercy and
that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In s
places certain lands be appointed hereunto, of the reve
whereof they be maintained. And in some places every n
giveth a certain tribute for the same use and purpose. Ag
in some parts of the land these serving-men (for so be the
condemned persons called) do no common work, but as eve
private man needeth labourers, so he cometh into the marl
place, and there hireth some of them for meat and drin
and a certain limited wages by the day, somewhat cheape
than he should hire a free man. It is also lawful for them
to chastise the sloth of these serving-men with stripes. By
this means they never lack work, and besides the gaining
of their meat and drink, every one of them bringeth daily
something into the common treasury. All and every one o
them be apparelled in one colour. Their heads be not polled
or shaven, but rounded a little above the ears. And the tip
of the one ear is cut off. Every one of them may take meat
and drink of their friends, and also a coat of their own colour:
but to receive money is death, as well to the giver, as to the
receiver. And no less jeopardy it is for a free man to receive
money of a serving-man for any manner of cause: and like-
wise for serving-men to touch weapons. The serving-men
of every several shire be distinct and known from other by
their several and distinct badges: which to cast away is
death: as it is also to be seen out of the precincts of their
own shire, or to talk with a serving-man of another shire.
And it is no less danger to them, for to intend to run away,
than to do it indeed. Yea and to conceal such an enterprise
in a serving-man it is death, in a free man servitude. Of the

contrary part, to him that openeth and uttereth such counsels, be decreed large gifts: to a free man a great sum of money, to a serving-man freedom: and to them both forgiveness and pardon of that they were of counsel in that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to go forward in their evil purpose, as by repentance to turn back. This is the law and order in this behalf, as I have showed you. Wherein what humanity is used, how far it is from cruelty, and how commodious it is, you do plainly perceive: forasmuch as the end of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else, but the destruction of vices, and saving of men: with so using and ordering them, that they cannot choose but be good, and what harm soever they did before, in the residue of their life to make amends for the same. Moreover it is so little feared, that they should turn again to their vicious conditions, that wayfaring men will for their safeguard choose them to their guides before any other, in every shire changing and taking new. For if they would commit robbery, they have nothing about them meet for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money found about them should betray the robbery. They should be no sooner taken with the manner, but forthwith they should be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to 'scape away by flying. For how should a man, that in no part of his apparel is like other men, fly privily and unknown, unless he would run away naked? Howbeit so also flying he should be discrived by the rounding of his head, and his ear-mark. But it is a thing to be doubted, that they will lay their heads together, and conspire against the weal public. No, no, I warrant you. For the serving-men of one shire alone could never hope to bring to pass such an enterprise, without soliciting, enticing, and alluring the serving-men of many other shires to take their parts. Which thing is to them so impossible, that they may not as much as speak or talk together, or salute one another. No, it is not to be thought that they would make their own countrymen and companions of their counsel in such a matter which they know well should be jeopardy to the concealer

thereof, and great commodity and goodness to the opener and detector of the same. Whereas on the other part, there is none of them all hopeless or in despair to recover again his former estate of freedom, by humble obedience, by patient suffering and by giving good tokens and likelihood of himself, that he will, ever after that, live like a true and an honest man. For every yeaf divers of them be restored to their freedom: through the commendation of their patience. When I had thus spoken, saying moreover that I could see no cause why this order might not be had in England with much more profit, than the justice which the lawyer so highly praised: Nay, quoth the lawyer, this could never be so stablished in England, but that it must needs bring the weal public into great jeopardy and hazard. And as he was thus saying, he shaked his head, and made a wry mouth, and so he held his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his saying. Well, quoth the Cardinal, yet it were hard to judge without a proof, whether this order would do well here or no. But when the sentence of death is given, if then the king should command execution to be deferred and spared, and would prove this order and fashion: taking away the privileges of all sanctuaries: if then the proof should declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were established; else the condemned and reprieved persons may as well and as justly be put to death after this proof, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeopardy can in the mean space grow hereof. Yea, and methinketh that these vagabonds may very well be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many laws, and so little prevailed. When the Cardinal had thus said, then every man gave great praise to my sayings, which a little before they had disallowed. But most of all was esteemed that which was spoken of vagabonds, because it was the Cardinal's own addition. I cannot tell whether it were best to rehearse the communication that followed, for it was not very sad. But yet you shall hear it, for there was no evil in it, and partly it pertained to the matter beforesaid. There chanced to stand by a certain jesting parasite, or scoffer, which

would seem to resemble and counterfeit the fool. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he was almost the very same indeed that he laboured to represent: he so studied with words and sayings brought forth so out of time and place to make sport and move laughter, that he himself was oftener laughed at than his jests were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuff, that he made the proverb true, which saith: he that shooteth oft at the last shall hit the mark. So that when one of the company said, that through my communication a good order was found for thieves, and that the Cardinal also had well provided for vagabonds, so that only remained some good provision to be made for them that through sickness and age were fallen into poverty, and were become so impotent and unwieldy, that they were not able to work for their living: Tush (quoth he) let me alone with them: you shall see me do well enough with them. For I had rather than any good, that this kind of people were driven somewhere out of my sight, they have so sore troubled me many times and oft, when they have with their lamentable tears begged money of me: and yet they could never to my mind so tune their song, that thereby they ever got of me one farthing. For evermore the one of these two chanced: either that I would not, or else that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise. For when they see me go by, because they will not lose their labour, they let me pass and say not one word to me. So they look for nothing of me, no in good sooth no more, than if I were a priest, or a monk. But I will make a law, that all these beggars shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made lay brethren, as they call them, and the women nuns. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in jest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certain friar, graduate in divinity, took such pleasure and delight in this jest of priests and monks, that he also being else a man of grisly and stern gravity, began merrily and wantonly to jest and taunt. Nay, quoth he, you shall not so be rid and despatched of beggars, unless you make some provision also for us friars. Why, quoth the jester, that

is done already, for my lord himself set a very good order for you, when he decreed that vagabonds should be kept strait and set to work: for you be the greatest and veriest vagabonds that be. This jest also, when they saw the Cardinal not disprove it, every man took it gladly, saving only the friar. For he (and that no marvel) being thus touched on the quick, and hit on the gall, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refrain himself from chiding, scolding, railing and reviling. He called the fellow ribald, villain, javel, backbiter, slanderer, and the child of perdition: citing therewith terrible threatenings out of holy scripture. Then the jesting scoffer began to play the scoffer indeed, and verily he was good at it, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient yourself, good master friar, quoth he, and be not angry, for scripture saith: in your patience you shall save your souls. Then the friar (for I will rehearse his own very words) No, gallows wretch, I am not angry (quoth he) or at the leastwise, I do not sin: for the Psalmist saith, be you angry, and sin not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the friar, and desired him to quiet himself. No my lord, quoth he, I speak not but of a good zeal as I ought: for holy men had a good zeal. Wherefore it is said: the zeal of thy house hath eaten me. And it is sung in the church, the scorners of Helizeus, whiles he went up into the house of God, felt the zeal of the bald, as peradventure this scorning villain ribald shall feel. You do it (quoth the Cardinal) perchance of a good mind and affection: but methinketh you should do, I cannot tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you would not set your wit to a fool's wit, and with a fool take in hand a foolish contention. No forsooth, my lord (quoth he) I should not do more wisely. For Solomon the wise saith: Answer a fool according to his folly, like as I do now, and do show him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed. For if many scorners of Helizeus, which was but one bald man, felt the zeal of the bald, how much more shall one scorner of many friars feel, among whom be many bald men? And we have also the pope's bulls, whereby all that mock and scorn us be excommunicate, suspended and

accursed. The Cardinal, seeing that none end would be made, sent away the jester by a privy beck, and turned the communication to another matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to hear his suitors, and so dismissed us. Look, Master More, with how long and tedious a tale I have kept you, which surely I would have been ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sort give ear unto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Which though I have done somewhat briefly, yet could I not choose but rehearse it, for the judgment of them, which when they had improved and disallowed my sayings, yet incontinent, hearing the Cardinal allow them, did themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea almost in good earnest, his jester's foolish inventions: because that he himself by smiling at them did seem not to disprove them. So that hereby you may right well perceive how little the courtiers would regard and esteem me and my sayings.

I ensure you, Master Raphael, quoth I, I took great delectation in hearing you: all things that you said were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And me thought myself to be in the meantime, not only at home in my country, but also through the pleasant remembrance of the Cardinal, in whose house I was brought up of a child, to wax a child again. And, friend Raphael, though I did bear very great love towards you before, yet seeing you do so earnestly favour this man, you will not believe how much my love towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no means change my mind, but that I must needs believe, that you, if you be disposed, and can find in your heart to follow some prince's court, shall with your good counsels greatly help and further the commonwealth. Wherefore there is nothing more appertaining to your duty, that is to say, to the duty of a good man. For whereas your Plato judgeth that weal publics shall by this means attain perfect felicity, either if philosophers be kings, or else if kings give themselves to

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the study of philosophy, how far I pray you, shall commonwealths then be from this felicity, if philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct kings with their good counsel?

They be not so unkind (quoth he) but they would gladly do it, yea, many have done it already in books that they have put forth, if kings and princes would be willing and ready to follow good counsel. But Plato doubtless did well foresee, unless kings themselves would apply their minds to the study of Philosophy, that else they would never thoroughly allow the counsel of philosophers, being themselves before even from their tender age infected, and corrupt with perverse and evil opinions. Which thing Plato himself proved true in King Dionysius. If I should propose to any king wholesome decrees, doing my endeavour to pluck out of his mind the pernicious original causes of vice and naughtiness, think you not that I should forthwith either be driven away, or else made a laughing stock? Well suppose I were with the French king, and there sitting in his council, whiles in that most secret consultation, the king himself there being present in his own person, they beat their brains and search the very bottoms of their wits to discuss by what craft and means the king may still keep Milan, and draw to him again fugitive Naples, and then how to conquer the Venetians, and how to bring under his jurisdiction all Italy, then how to win the dominion of Flanders, Brabant, and of all Burgundy: with divers other lands, whose kingdoms he hath long ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a league of peace with the Venetians, so long to endure, as shall be thought meet and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsel, yea, and besides that to give them part of the prey, which afterward, when they have brought their purpose about after their own minds, they may require and claim again. Another thinketh best to hire the Germans. Another would have the favour of the Swiss won with money. Another advice is to appease the puissant power of the Emperor's majesty with gold, as with a most pleasant and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles another giveth counsel to make

peace with the King of Arragon, and to restore unto him his own kingdom of Navarre, as a full assurance of peace. Another cometh in with his five eggs, and adviseth to hook in the King of Castile with some hope of affinity or alliance, and to bring to their part certain peers of his court for great pensions. Whiles they all stay at the chiefest doubt of all, what to do in the meantime with England, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the Englishmen, and with most sure and strong bands to bind that weak and feeble friendship, so that they must be called friends, and had in suspicion as enemies. And that therefore the Scots must be had in a readiness, as it were in a standing, ready at all occasions, if peradventure the Englishmen should stir never so little, incontinent to set upon them. And moreover privily and secretly (for openly it may not be done by the truce that is taken) privily therefore I say to make much of some peer of England that is banished his country, which must claim title to the crown of the realm, and affirm himself just inheritor thereof, that by this subtle means they may hold to them the king, in whom else they have but small trust and affiance. Here I say, where so great and high matters be in consultation, where so many noble and wise men counsel their king only to war, here if I silly man should rise up and will them to turn over the leaf, and learn a new lesson, saying that my counsel is not to meddle with Italy, but to tarry still at home, and that the kingdom of France alone is almost greater, than that it may well be governed of one man: so that the king should not need to study how to get more; and then should propose unto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, which be situate over against the island of Utopia on the south-east side. These Achoriens once made war in their king's quarrel for to get him another kingdom, which he laid claim unto, and advanced himself right inheritor to the crown thereof, by the title of an old alliance. At the last when they had gotten it, and saw that they had even as much vexation and trouble in keeping it, as they had in getting it, and that either their new conquered subjects by

sundry occasions were making daily insurrections to rebel against them, or else that other countries were continually with divers inroads and foragings invading them: so that they were ever fighting either for them, or against them, and never could break up their camps: seeing themselves in the mean season pilled and impoverished: their money carried out of the realm: their own men killed to maintain the glory of another nation: when they had no war, peace nothing better than war, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupt and wicked manners, that they had taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldness to mischief: that their laws were had in contempt, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king being troubled with the charge and governance of two kingdoms, could not nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office towards them both: seeing again that all these evils and troubles were endless: at the last laid their heads together, and like faithful and loving subjects gave to their king free choice and liberty to keep still the one of these two kingdoms whether he would: alleging that he was not able to keep both, and that they were more than might well be governed of half a king: forasmuch as no man would be content to take him for his muleteer, that keepeth another man's mules besides his. So this good prince was constrained to be content with his old kingdom and to give over the new to one of his friends. Who shortly after was violently driven out. Furthermore if I should declare unto them, that all this busy preparance to war, whereby so many nations for his sake should be brought into a troublesome hurly-burly, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted and his people destroyed, should at the length through some mischance be in vain and to none effect: and that therefore it were best for him to content himself with his own kingdom of France, as his forefathers and predecessors did before him; to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could, to endeavour himself to love his subjects, and again to be beloved of them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to govern them, and with other kingdoms not to

meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him, yea, and more than he can well turn him to: this mine advice, Master More, how think you it would be heard and taken?

So God help me not very thankfully, quoth I.

Well let us proceed then, quoth he. Suppose that some king and his council were together whetting their wits, and devising what subtle craft they might invent to enrich the king with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to raise and enhance the valuation of money when the king must pay any: and again to call down the value of coin to less than it is worth, when he must receive or gather any. For thus great sums shall be paid with a little money, and where little is due much shall be received. Another counselleth to feign war, that when under this colour and pretence the king hath gathered great abundance of money, he may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnity and holy ceremonies, to blind the eyes of the poor commonalty, as taking pity and compassion forsooth upon man's blood, like a loving and a merciful prince. Another putteth the king in remembrance of certain old and moth-eaten laws, that of long time have not been put in execution, which because no man can remember that they were made, every man hath transgressed. The fines of these laws he counselleth the king to require: for there is no way so profitable nor more honourable, as the which hath a show and colour of justice. Another adviseth him to forbid many things under great penalties and fines, specially such things as is for the people's profit not to be used, and afterward to dispense for money with them, which by this prohibition sustain loss and damage. For by this means the favour of the people is won, and profit riseth two ways. First by taking forfeits of them whom covetousness of gains hath brought in danger of this statute, and also by selling privileges and licences, which the better that the prince is, forsooth the dearer he selleth them: as one that is loath to grant to any private person anything that is against the profit of his people. And therefore may sell none but at an exceeding dear price.

Another giveth the king counsel to endanger unto his grace the judges of the realm, that he may have them ever on his side, and that they may in every matter dispute and reason for the king's right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and discuss his matters in his own presence. So there shall be no matter of his so openly wrong and unjust, wherein one or other of them, either because he will have something to allege and object, or that he is ashamed to say that which is said already, or else to pick a thank with his prince, will not find some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrary part in a trip. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree among themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plain enough, and bringing the manifest truth in doubt: in the mean season the king may take a fit occasion to understand the law as shall most make for his advantage, whereunto all other for shame, or for fear will agree. Then the judges may be bold to pronounce on the king's side. For he that giveth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuse. For it shall be sufficient for him to have equity on his part, or the bare words of the law, or a writhed and wrested understanding of the same, or else (which with good and just judges is of greater force than all laws be) the king's indisputable prerogative. To conclude, all the councillors agree and consent together with the rich Crassus, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which must keep and maintain an army: furthermore that a king, though he would, can do nothing unjustly. For all that all men have, yea also the men themselves be all his. And that every man hath so much of his own, as the king's gentleness hath not taken from him. And that it shall be most for the king's advantage, that his subjects have very little or nothing in their possession, as whose safeguard doth herein consist, that his people do not wax wanton and wealthy through riches and liberty, because where these things be, there men be not wont patiently to obey hard, unjust, and unlawful commandments; whereas on the other part need and poverty doth hold down and keep under stout courages, and maketh them patient

perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling stomachs. Here again if I should rise up, and boldly affirm that all these counsels be to the king dishonour and reproach, whose honour and safety is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and riches of his people, than by his own treasures: and if I should declare that the commonalty chooseth their king for their own sake and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his labour and study they might all live wealthily safe from wrongs and injuries: and that therefore the king ought to take more care for the wealth of his people, than for his own wealth, even as the office and duty of a shepherd is in that he is a shepherd, to feed his sheep rather than himself. For as touching this, that they think the defence and maintenance of peace to consist in the poverty of the people, the thing itself showeth that they be far out of the way. For where shall a man find more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, than among beggars? Who be more desirous of new mutations and alterations, than they that be not content with the present state of their life? Or finally who be bolder stomached to bring all in a hurly-burly (thereby trusting to get some windfall) than they that have now nothing to lose? And if any king were so small regarded and so lightly esteemed, yea so behated of his subjects, that other ways he could not keep them in awe, but only by open wrongs, by polling and shaving, and by bringing them to beggary, surely it were better for him to forsake his kingdom, than to hold it by this means: whereby though the name of a king be kept, yet the majesty is lost. For it is against the dignity of a king to have rule over beggars, but rather over rich and wealthy men. Of this mind was the hardy and courageous Fabricius, when he said, that he had rather be a ruler of rich men, than be rich himself. And verily one man to live in pleasure and wealth, whiles all other weep and smart for it, that is the part, not of a king, but of a jailor. To be short, as he is a foolish physician, that cannot cure his patient's disease, unless he cast him in another sickness, so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjects, but by taking from them the wealth and commodity of life, he must needs grant that he knoweth not the

feat how to govern men. But let him rather amend his own life, renounce unhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chief vices that cause him to run in the contempt or hatred of his people. Let him live of his own, hurting no man. Let him do cost not above his power. Let him restrain wickedness. Let him prevent vices, and take away the occasions of offences by well ordering his subjects, and not by suffering wickedness to increase afterward to be punished. Let him not be too hasty in calling again laws, which a custom hath abrogated: specially such as hath been long forgotten, and never lacked nor needed. And let him never under the cloak and pretence of transgression take such fines and forfeits, as no judge will suffer a private person to take, as unjust and full of guile. Here if I should bring forth before them the law of the Macariens, which be not far distant from Utopia: whose king the day of his coronation is bound by a solemn oath, that he shall never at any time have in his treasure above a thousand pounds of gold or silver. They say a very good king, which took more care for the wealth and commodity of his country, than for the enriching of himself, made this law to be a stop and a bar to kings from heaping and hoarding up so much money as might impoverish their people. For he foresaw that this sum of treasure would suffice to support the king in battle against his own people, if they should chance to rebel: and also to maintain his wars against the invasions of his foreign enemies. Again he perceived the same stock of money to be too little and insufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfully to take away other men's goods: which was the chief cause why the law was made. Another cause was this. He thought that by this provision his people should not lack money, wherewith to maintain their daily occupying and chaffer. And seeing the king could not choose but lay out and bestow all that came in above the prescript sum of his stock, he thought he would seek no occasions to do his subjects injury. Such a king shall be feared of evil men, and loved of good men. These, and such other informations, if I should use among men wholly inclined

and given to the contrary part, how deaf hearers think you should I have?

Deaf hearers doubtless (quoth I) and in good faith no marvel. And to be plain with you, truly I cannot allow that such communication shall be used, or such counsel given, as you be sure shall never be regarded nor received. For how can so strange informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their heads, whose minds be already prevented with clean contrary persuasions? This school philosophy is not unpleasant among friends in familiar communication, but in the councils of kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authority, these things have no place.

That is it which I meant (quoth he) when I said philosophy had no place among kings.

Indeed (quoth I) this school philosophy hath not, which thinketh all things meet for every place. But there is another philosophy more civil, which knoweth, as ye would say, her own stage, and thereafter ordering and behaving herself in the play that she hath in hand, playeth her part accordingly with comeliness, uttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the philosophy that you must use. Or else whiles a comedy of Plautus is playing, and the vile bondmen scoffing and trifling among themselves, if you should suddenly come upon the stage in a philosopher's apparel, and rehearse out of Octavia the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero: had it not been better for you to have played the dumb person, than by rehearsing that, which served neither for the time nor place, to have made such a tragical comedy or gallimaufry? For by bringing in other stuff that nothing appertaineth to the present matter, you must needs mar and pervert the play that is in hand, though the stuff that you bring be much better. What part soever you have taken upon you, play that as well as you can and make the best of it: And do not therefore disturb and bring out of order the whole matter, because that another, which is merrier, and better, cometh to your remembrance. So the case standeth in a commonwealth, and so it is in the consultations of kings and princes. If evil opinions and naughty persuasions cannot

be utterly and quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot, even as you would, remedy vices, which use and custom hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leave and forsake the commonwealth: you must not forsake the ship in a tempest, because you cannot rule and keep down the winds. No, nor you must not labour to drive into their heads new and strange informations, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of clean contrary minds. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtle train study and endeavour yourself, as much as in you lieth, to handle the matter wittily and handsomely for the purpose, and that which you cannot turn to good, so to order it that it be not very bad. For it is not possible for all things to be well, unless all men were good. Which I think will not be yet these good many years.

By this means (quoth he) nothing else will be brought to pass, but while that I go about to remedy the madness of others, I should be even as mad as they. For if I would speak such things that be true I must needs speak such things; but as for to speak false things, whether that be a philosopher's part or no I cannot tell, truly it is not my part. Howbeit this communication of mine, though peradventure it may seem unpleasant to them, yet can I not see why it should seem strange, or foolishly newfangled. If so be that I should speak those things that Plato feigneth in his weal public: or that the Utopians do in theirs, these things though they were (as they be indeed) better, yet they might seem spoken out of place. Forasmuch as here amongst us, every man hath his possessions several to himself, and there all things be common. But what was in my communication contained, that might not, and ought not in any place to be spoken? Saving that to them which have thoroughly decreed and determined with themselves to run headlong the contrary way it cannot be acceptable and pleasant, because it calleth them back, and showeth them the jeopardies. Verily if all things that evil and vicious manners have caused to seem inconvenient and nought should be refused, as things unmeet and reproachful, then we must among Christian people wink

at the most part of all those things, which Christ taught us, and so strictly forbade them to be winked at, that those things also which he whispered in the ears of his disciples he commanded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most part of them is more dissident from the manners of the world nowadays, than my communication was. But preachers, sly and wily men, following your counsel (as I suppose) because they saw men evil willing to frame their manners to Christ's rule, they have wrested and perverted his doctrine, and like a rule of lead have applied it to men's manners: that by some means at the leastways, they might agree together. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done: but that men may more sickerly be evil. And I truly should prevail even as little in king's councils. For either I must say otherways than they say, and then I were as good to say nothing, or else I must say the same that they say, and (as Mitio saith in Terence) help to further their madness. For that crafty wile, and subtle train of yours, I cannot perceive to what purpose it serveth, wherewith you would have me to study and endeavour myself, if all things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose, that as far forth as is possible they may not be very evil. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wink in. Naughty counsels must be openly allowed and very pestilent decrees must be approved. He shall be counted worse than a spy, yea almost as evil as a traitor, that with a faint heart doth praise evil and noisome decrees. Moreover a man can have no occasion to do good chancing into the company of them which will sooner pervert a good man, than be made good themselves: through whose evil company he shall be marred, or else if he remain good and innocent, yet the wickedness and folly of others shall be imputed to him, and laid in his neck. So that it is impossible with that crafty wile and subtle train to turn anything to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodly similitude declareth, why wise men refrain to meddle in the commonwealth. For when they see the people swarm into the streets, and daily wet to the skin with rain, and yet cannot persuade

them to go out of the rain and to take their houses, knowing well, that if they should go out to them, they should nothing prevail, nor win ought by it, but with them be wet also in the rain, they do keep themselves within their houses, being content that they be safe themselves, seeing they cannot remedy the folly of the people. Howbeit doubtless, Master More (to speak truly as my mind giveth me) where possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroke, it is hard and almost impossible that there the weal public may justly be governed, and prosperously flourish. Unless you think thus: that justice is there executed, where all things come into the hands of evil men; or that prosperity there flourisheth, where all is divided among a few; which few nevertheless do not lead their lives very wealthily, and the residue live miserably, wretchedly and beggarly. Wherefore when I consider with myself and weigh in my mind the wise and godly ordinances of the Utopians, among whom with very few laws all things be so well and wealthily ordered, that virtue it had in price and estimation, and yet, all things being there common, every man hath abundance of everything. Again on the other part, when I compare with them so many nations ever making new laws, yet none of them all well and sufficiently furnished with laws; where every man calleth that he hath gotten, his own proper and private goods; where so many new laws daily made be not sufficient for every man to enjoy, defend, and know from another man's that which he calleth his own; which thing the infinite controversies in the law, daily rising, never to be ended, plainly declare to be true. These things (I say) when I consider with myself, I hold well with Plato, and do nothing marvel, that he would make no laws for them, that refused those laws, whereby all men should have and enjoy equal portions of wealth and commodities. For the wise man did easily foresee, this to be the one and only way to the wealth of a commonalty, if equality of all things should be brought in and stablished. Which I think is not possible to be observed, where every man's goods be proper and peculiar to himself. For where every man under certain titles and pretences draweth and

plucketh to himself as much as he can, so that a few divide among themselves all the whole riches, be there never so much abundance and store, there to the residue is left lack and poverty. And for the most part it chanceth, that this latter sort is more worthy to enjoy that state of wealth, than the other be: because the rich men be covetous, crafty and unprofitable. On the other part the poor be lowly, simple, and by their daily labour more profitable to the commonwealth than to themselves. Thus I do fully persuade myself, that no equal and just distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shall ever be among men, unless this propriety be exiled and banished. But so long as it shall continue, so long shall remain among the most and best part of men the heavy and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchedness. Which, as I grant that it may be somewhat eased, so I utterly deny that it can wholly be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possess above a certain measure of ground, and that no man should have in his stock above a prescript and appointed sum of money: if it were by certain laws decreed, that neither the king should be of too great power, neither the people too haughty and wealthy, and that offices should not be obtained by inordinate suit, or by bribes and gifts: that they should neither be bought nor sold, nor that it should be needful for the officers, to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is given to them by fraud and ravin to gather up their money again, and by reason of gifts and bribes the offices be given to rich men, which should rather have been executed of wise men: by such laws I say, like as sick bodies that be desperate and past cure, be wont with continual good cherishing to be kept and botched up for a time: so these evils also might be lightened and mitigated. But that they may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and upright state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles every man is master of his own to himself. Yea, and while you go about to do your cure of one part, you shall make bigger the sore of another part, so the help of one causeth another's harm: forasmuch as nothing can be given to any one, unless it be taken from another.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quoth I) for methinketh that men shall never there live wealthily, where all things be common. For how can there be abundance of goods, or of anything, where every man withdraweth his hand from labour? Whom the regard of his own gains driveth not to work, but the hope that he hath in other men's travails maketh him slothful. Then when they be pricked with poverty, and yet no man can by any law or right defend that for his own, which he hath gotten with the labour of his own hands, shall not there of necessity be continual sedition and bloodshed? Specially the authority and reverence of magistrates being taken away, which, what place it may have with such men among whom is no difference, I cannot devise.

I marvel not (quoth he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceive in your mind either none at all, or else a very false image and similitude of this thing. But if you had been with me in Utopia and had presently seen their fashions and laws, as I did, which lived there five years and more, and would never have come thence, but only to make that new land known here: then doubtless you would grant, that you never saw people well ordered, but only there.

Surely (quoth Master Peter) it shall be hard for you to make me believe, that there is better order in that new land, than is here in these countries, that we know. For good wits be as well here as there: and I think our commonwealth be ancienter than theirs; wherein long use and experience hath found out many things commodious for man's life, besides that many things here among us have been found by chance, which no wit could ever have devised.

As touching the ancientness (quoth he) of commonwealths, then you might better judge, if you had read the histories and chronicles of that land, which if we may believe, cities were there, before men were here. Now what thing soever hitherto by wit hath been devised, or found by chance, that might be as well there as here. But I think verily, though it were so that we did pass them in wit: yet in study, in travail, and in laboursome endeavour they

far pass us. For (as their chronicles testify) before our arrival there, they never heard anything of us, whom they call the ultra-equinoctials: saving that once about 1200 years ago, a certain ship was lost by the isle of Utopia, which was driven thither by tempest. Certain Romans and Egyptians were cast on land. Which after that never went thence. Mark now what profit they took of this one occasion through diligence and earnest travail. There was no craft nor science within the empire of Rome, whereof any profit could rise, but they either learned it of these strangers, or else of them taking occasion to search for it, found it out. So great profit was it to them that ever any went thither from hence. But if any like chance before this hath brought any man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembrance, as this also perchance in time to come shall be forgotten, that ever I was there. And like as they quickly, almost at the first meeting, made their own whatsoever is among us wealthily devised: so I suppose it would be long before we would receive anything that among them is better instituted than among us. And this I suppose is the chief cause why their commonwealths be wiselier governed, and do flourish in more wealth than ours, though we neither in wit nor riches be their inferiors.

Therefore gentle Master Raphael (quoth I) I pray you and beseech you describe unto us the island. And study not to be short: but declare largely in order their grounds, their rivers, their cities, their people, their manners, their ordinances, their laws, and to be short, all things, that you shall think us desirous to know. And you shall think us desirous to know whatsoever we know not yet.

There is nothing (quoth he) that I will do gladlier. For all these things I have fresh in mind. But the matter requireth leisure.

Let us go in therefore (quoth I) to dinner, afterward we will bestow the time at our pleasure.

Content (quoth he) be it.

So we went in and dined. When dinner was done, we came

into the same place again, and sat us down upon the same bench, commanding our servants that no man should trouble us. Then I and Master Peter Giles desired Master Raphael to perform his promise. He therefore seeing us desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sat still and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himself, thus he began to speak.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE SECOND BOOK.

The Second Book of the Communication of Raphael Hythloday, concerning the best state of a commonwealth, containing the description of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politic government, and of all the good laws and orders of the same Island.

THE island of Utopia containeth in breadth in the middle part of it (for there it is broadest) two hundred miles. Which breadth continueth through the most part of the land, saving that by little and little it cometh in, and waxeth narrower towards both the ends. Which fetching about a circuit or compass of five hundred miles, do fashion the whole island like to the new moon. Between these two corners the sea runneth in, dividing them asunder by the distance of nine miles or thereabouts, and there surmounteth into a large and wide sea, which by reason that the land on every side compasseth it about, and sheltereth it from the winds, is not rough, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietly, not much unlike a great standing pool: and maketh well-nigh all the space within the belly of the land in manner of a haven: and to the great commodity of the inhabitants receiveth in ships towards every part of the land. The forefronts or frontiers of the two corners, what with fords and shelves, and what with rocks be very jeopardous and dangerous. In the middle distance between them both standeth up above the water a great rock, which therefore is nothing perilous because it is in sight. Upon the top of this rock is a fair and a strong tower builded, which they hold with a garrison of men. Other rocks there be lying hid under the water, which therefore be dangerous. The channels be known only to themselves. And therefore it seldom

chanceth that any stranger unless he be guided by an Utopian can come into this haven. Insomuch that they themselves could scarcely enter without jeopardy, but that their way is directed and ruled by certain landmarks standing on the shore. By turning, translating, and removing these marks into other places they may destroy their enemies' navies, be they never so many. The outside or utter circuit of the land is also full of havens, but the landing is so surely fenced, what by nature, and what by workmanship of man's hand, that a few defenders may drive back many armies. Howbeit as they say, and as the fashion of the place itself doth partly show, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But King Utopus, whose name, as conqueror the island beareth (for before his time it was called Abraxa) which also brought the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in all good fashions, humanity, and civil gentleness, wherein they now go beyond all the people of the world: even at his first arriving and entering upon the land, forthwith obtaining the victory, caused fifteen miles space of uplandish ground, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and digged up.

And so brought the sea round about the land. He set to this work not only the inhabitants of the island (because they should not think it done in contumely and despite) but also all his own soldiers. Thus the work being divided into so great a number of workmen, was with exceeding marvellous speed despatched. Insomuch that the borderers, which at the first began to mock, and to jest at this vain enterprise, then turned their derision to marvel at the success, and to fear. There be in the island fifty-four large and fair cities, or shire towns, agreeing all together in one tongue, in like manners, institutions and laws. They be all set and situate alike, and in all points fashioned alike, as far forth as the place or plot suffereth.

Of these cities they that be nighest together be twenty-four miles asunder. Again there is none of them distant from the next above one day's journey afoot. There come yearly to Amaurote out of every city three old men wise and well experienced, there to entreat and debate, of the common

matters of the land. For this city (because it standeth just in the midst of the island, and is therefore most meet for the ambassadors of all parts of the realm) is taken for the chief and head city. The precincts and bounds of the shires be so commodiously appointed out, and set forth for the cities, that none of them all hath of any side less than twenty miles of ground, and of some side also much more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distance asunder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the bounds and limits of their shires. For they count themselves rather the good husbandmen than the owners of their lands. They have in the country in all parts of the shire houses or farms builded, well appointed and furnished with all sorts of instruments and tools belonging to husbandry. These houses be inhabited of the citizens, which come thither to dwell by course. No household or farm in the country hath fewer than forty persons men and women, besides two bondmen, which be all under the rule and order of the good man, and the good wife of the house, being both very sage, discreet and ancient persons. And every thirty farms or families have one head ruler, which is called a philarch, being as it were a head bailiff. Out of every one of these families or farms cometh every year into the city twenty persons which have continued two years before in the country. In their place so many fresh be sent thither out of the city, who, of them that have been there a year already, and be therefore expert and cunning in husbandry, shall be instructed and taught. And they the next year shall teach other. This order is used for fear that either scarceness of victuals, or some other like incommodity should chance, through lack of knowledge, if they should be altogether new, and fresh, and unexpert in husbandry. This manner and fashion of yearly changing and renewing the occupiers of husbandry, though it be solemn and customably used, to the intent that no man shall be constrained against his will to continue long in that hard and sharp kind of life, yet many of them have such a pleasure and delight in husbandry, that they obtain a longer space of years. These husbandmen plough and till the ground, and breed up cattle, and

provide and make ready wood, which they carry to the city either by land, or by water, as they may most conveniently. They bring up a great multitude of poultry, and that by a marvellous policy. For the hens do not sit upon the eggs: but by keeping them in a certain equal heat they bring life into them, and hatch them. The chickens, as soon as they be come out of the shell, follow men and women instead of the hens. They bring up very few horses: nor none, but very fierce ones: and that for none other use or purpose, but only to exercise their youth in riding and feats of arms. For oxen be put to all the labour of ploughing and drawing. Which they grant to be not so good as horses at a sudden brunt, and (as we say) at a dead lift, but yet they hold opinion that oxen will abide and suffer much more labour, pain and hardness, than horses will. And they think that oxen be not in danger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kept and maintained with much less cost and charge: and finally that they be good for meat, when they be past labour. They sow corn only for bread. For their drink is either wine made of grapes, or else of apples, or pears, or else it is clear water. And many times mead made of honey or liquorice sodden in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they know certainly (for they know it perfectly indeed) how much victuals the city with the whole country or shire round about it doth spend: yet they sow much more corn, and breed up much more cattle, than serveth for their own use, parting the overplus among their borderers. Whatsoever necessary things be lacking in the country, all such stuff they fetch out of the city: where without any exchange they easily obtain it of the magistrates of the city. For every month many of them go into the city on the holy day. When their harvest day draweth near and is at hand, then the philarchs, which be the head officers and bailiffs of husbandry, send word to the magistrates of the city what number of harvest men is needful to be sent to them out of the city. The which company of harvest men being ready at the day appointed, almost in one fair day despatcheth all the harvest work.

Of the Cities, and namely of Amaurote.

As for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be all so like one to another, as farforth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather than Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignity. For the residue acknowledge it for the head city, because there is the council house. Nor to me any of them all is better beloved, as wherein I lived five whole years together. The city of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a low hill in fashion almost four square. For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the top of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles, until it come to the river of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the river's side, is somewhat more. The river of Anyder riseth four and twenty miles above Amaurote out of a little spring. But being increased by other small rivers and brooks that run into it, and among other two somewhat big ones, before the city it is half a mile broad, and farther broader. And forty miles beyond the city it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that lieth between the sea and the city, and certain miles also above the city, the water ebbeth and floweth six hours together with a swift tide. When the sea floweth in, for the length of thirty miles it filleth all the Anyder with salt water, and driveth back the fresh water of the river. And somewhat further it changeth the sweetness of the fresh water with saltness. But a little beyond that the river waxeth sweet, and runneth forby the city fresh and pleasant. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth back again, the fresh water followeth it almost even to the very fall into the sea. There goeth a bridge over the river made not of piles or of timber, but of stonework with gorgeous and substantial arches at that part of the city that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that ships may pass along forby all the side of the city without let. They have also another river which indeed is not very great. But it runneth gently and pleasantly. For it riseth even out of the same hill that the city

standeth upon, and runneth down a slope through the midst of the city into Anyder. And because it riseth a little without the city, the Amaurotians have inclosed the head spring of it with strong fences and bulwarks, and so have joined it to the city. This is done to the intent that the water should not be stopped nor turned away, or poisoned, if their enemies should chance to come upon them. From thence the water is derived and conveyed down in canals of brick divers ways into the lower parts of the city. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place will not suffer it, there they gather the rain water in great cisterns, which doth them as good service. The city is compassed about with a high and thick stone wall full of turrets and bulwarks. A dry ditch, but deep, and broad, and overgrown with bushes, briers and thorns, goeth about three sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the river itself serveth for a ditch. The streets be appointed and set forth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also against the winds. The houses be of fair and gorgeous building, and on the street side they stand joined together in a long row through the whole street without any partition or separation. The streets be twenty feet broad. On the back side of the houses through the whole length of the street, lie large gardens inclosed round about with the back part of the streets. Every house hath two doors, one into the street, and a postern door on the back side into the garden. These doors be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easy to be opened, that they will follow the least drawing of a finger, and shut again alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothing within the houses that is private, or any man's own. And every tenth year they change their houses by lot. They set great store by their gardens. In them they have vineyards, all manner of fruit, herbs, and flowers, so pleasant, so well furnished and so finely kept, that I never saw thing more fruitful, nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence herein cometh not only of pleasure, but also of a certain strife and contention that is between street and street, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their

gardens: every man for his own part. And verily you shall not lightly find in all the city anything, that is more commodious, either for the profit of the citizens, or for pleasure. And therefore it may seem that the first founder of the city minded nothing so much as these gardens. For they say that King Utopus himself, even at the first beginning appointed and drew forth the platform of the city into this fashion and figure that it hath now, but the gallant garnishing, and the beautiful setting forth of it, whereunto he saw that one man's age would not suffice: that he left to his posterity. For their chronicles, which they keep written with all diligent circumspection, containing the history of 1760 years, even from the first conquest of the island, record and witness that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cottages or poor shepherd houses, made at all adventures of every rude piece of timber, that came first to hand, with mud walls and ridged roofs, thatched over with straw. But now the houses be curiously builded after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with three storeys one over another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint, or of plaster, or else of brick, and the inner sides be well strengthened with timber work. The roofs be plain and flat, covered with a certain kind of plaster that is of no cost, and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstandeth the violence of the weather better than any lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass, for it is there much used, and sometimes also with fine linen cloth dipped in oil or amber, and that for two commodities. For by this means more light cometh in, and the wind is better kept out.

Of the Magistrates.

Every thirty families or farms, choose them yearly an officer, which in their old language is called the syphogrant, and by a new name, the philarch. Every ten syphogrants, with all their thirty families be under an officer which was called the tranibore, now the chief philarch. Moreover as concerning the

election of the prince, all the syphogrants, which be in number 200, first be sworn to choose him whom they think most meet and expedient. Then by a secret election, they name prince one of those four whom the people before named unto them. For out of the four quarters of the city there be four chosen, out of every quarter one, to stand for the election: which be put up to the council. The prince's office continueth all his lifetime, unless he be deposed or put down for suspicion of tyranny. They choose the tranibores yearly, but lightly they change them not. All the other officers be but for one year. The tranibores every third day, and sometimes, if need be, oftener come into the council house with the prince. Their council is concerning the commonwealth. If there be any controversies among the commoners, which be very few, they despatch and end them by-and-by. They take ever two syphogrants to them in counsel, and every day a new couple. And it is provided, that nothing touching the commonwealth shall be confirmed and ratified unless it have been reasoned of and debated three days in the council, before it be decreed. It is death to have any consultation for the commonwealth out of the council, or the place of the common election. This statute, they say, was made to the intent that the prince and tranibores might not easily conspire together to oppress the people by tyranny, and to change the state of the weal public. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be brought to the election house of the syphogrants, which open the matter to their families. And afterward, when they have consulted among themselves, they show their device to the council. Sometimes the matter is brought before the council of the whole island. Furthermore this custom also the council useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same day that it is first proposed or put forth, but to defer it to the next sitting of the council. Because that no man when he hath rashly there spoken that cometh to his tongue's end, shall then afterward rather study for reasons wherewith to defend and maintain his first foolish sentence, than for the commodity of the commonwealth: as one rather willing the harm or hindrance of the weal public than any loss or

diminution of his own existimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a very foolish shame) to be counted anything at the first overseen in the matter. Who at the first ought to have spoken rather wisely, than hastily, or rashly.

Of Sciences, Crafts, and Occupations.

Husbandry is a science common to them all in general, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instruct even from their youth: partly in their schools with traditions and precepts, and partly in the country nigh the city, brought up as it were in playing, not only beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other several and particular science, as his own proper craft. That is most commonly either clothworking in wool or flax, or masonry, or the smith's craft, or the carpenter's science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speak of doth use there. For their garments, which throughout all the island be of one fashion (saving that there is a difference between the man's garment and the woman's, between the married and the unmarried) and this one continueth for evermore unchanged, seemly and comely to the eye, no let to the moving and wielding of the body, also fit both for winter and summer: as for these garments (I say) every family maketh their own. But of the other foresaid crafts every man learneth one. And not only the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts: as to work wool and flax. The more laboursome sciences be committed to the men. For the most part every man is brought up in his father's craft. For most commonly they be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a man's mind stand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation, which he doth most fantasy. Whom not only his father, but also the magistrates do diligently look to, that he be put to a discreet

and an honest householder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learn also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted.

When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will: unless the city have more need of the one, than of the other. The chief and almost the only office of the syphogrants is, to see and take heed that no man sit idle: but that every one apply his own craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from early in the morning, to late in the evening, with continual work, like labouring and toiling beasts.

For this is worse than the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen. Which nevertheless is almost everywhere the life of workmen and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they dividing the day and the night into twenty-four just hours, appoint and assign only six of these hours to work before noon, upon the which they go straight to dinner: and after dinner, when they have rested two hours, then they work three hours and upon that they go to supper. About eight of the clock in the evening (counting one of the clock at the first hour after noon) they go to bed: eight hours they give to sleep. All the void time, that is between the hours of work, sleep, and meat, that they be suffered to bestow, every man as he liketh best himself. Not to the intent that they should misspend this time in riot or slothfulness: but being then licensed from the labour of their own occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftly upon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solemn custom there, to have lectures daily early in the morning, where to be present they only be constrained that be namely chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of every sort of people, both men and women go to hear lectures, some one and some another, as every man's nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time upon his own occupation (as it chanceth in many, whose minds rise not in the contemplation of any science liberal) he is not let, nor prohibited, but is also praised and commended, as profitable to the commonwealth. After supper they bestow one hour in play:

in summer in their gardens: in winter in their common halls: where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in music, or else in honest and wholesome communication. Diceplay, and such other foolish and pernicious games they know not. But they use two games not much unlike the chess. The one is the battle of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is wherein vices fight with virtues, as it were in battle array, or a set field. In the which game is very properly showed, both the strife and discord that vices have among themselves, and again their unity and concord against virtues. And also what vices be repugnant to what virtues: with what power and strength they assail them openly: by what wiles and subtlety they assault them secretly: with what help and aid the virtues resist and overcome the puissance of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or means the one getteth the victory. But here lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so. For that small time is not only enough but also too much for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite, either for the necessity, or commodity of life. The which thing you also shall perceive, if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First almost all women, which be the half of the whole number: or else if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle. Besides this how great, and how idle a company is there of priests, and religious men, as they call them? put thereto all rich men, especially all landed men, which commonly be called gentlemen, and noblemen. Take into this number also their servants: I mean all that flock of stout bragging rush bucklers. Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the colour of some disease or sickness. And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought, by whose labour all these things are wrought, that in men's affairs are now daily

used and frequented. Now consider with yourself, of these few that do work, how few be occupied, in necessary works. For where money beareth all the swing, there many vain and superfluous occupations must needs be used, to serve only for riotous superfluity and unhonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in work, if they were divided into so few occupations as the necessary use of nature requireth; in so great plenty of things as then of necessity would ensue, doubtless the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintain their livings. But if all these, that be now busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flock of them that live idly and slothfully, which consume and waste every one of them more of these things that come by other men's labour, than two of the workmen themselves do: if all these (I say) were set to profitable occupations, you easily perceive how little time would be enough, yea and too much to store us with all things that may be requisite either for necessity, or for commodity, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be true and natural. And this in Utopia the thing itself maketh manifest and plain. For there in all the city, with the whole country, or shire adjoining to it scarcely 500 persons of all the whole number of men and women, that be neither too old, nor too weak to work, be licensed and discharged from labour. Among them be the syphogrants (who though they be by the laws exempt and privileged from labour) yet they exempt not themselves: to the intent that they may the rather by their example provoke other to work. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoy, to whom the people persuaded by the commendation of the priests, and secret election of the syphogrants, have given a perpetual licence from labour to learning. But if any one of them prove not according to the expectation and hope of him conceived, he is forthwith plucked back to the company of artificers. And contrariwise, often it chanceth that a handicraftsman doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare hours in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Out of this order of the learned be chosen

ambassadors, priests, tranibores, and finally the prince himself. Whom they in their old tongue call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residue of the people being neither idle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few hours how much good work by them may be done and despatched, towards those things that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they need not so much work, as other nations do. For first of all the building or repairing of houses asketh everywhere so many men's continual labour, because that the unthrifty heir suffereth the houses that his father builded in continuance of time to fall in decay. So that which he might have upholden with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it again anew, to his great charge. Yea many times also the house that stood one man in much money, another is of so nice and so delicate a mind, that he setteth nothing by it. And it being neglected, and therefore shortly falling into ruin, he buildeth up another in another place with no less cost and charge. But among the Utopians, where all things be set in good order, and the commonwealth in a good stay, it very seldom chanceth, that they choose a new plot to build an house upon. And they do not only find speedy and quick remedies for present faults: but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by this means their houses continue and last very long with little labour and small reparations: insomuch that this kind of workmen sometimes have almost nothing to do. But that they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to square and trim up stones, to the intent that if any work chance, it may the speedier rise. Now, sir, in their apparel, mark (I pray you) how few workmen they need. First of all, whilst they be at work, they be covered homely with leather or skins, that will last seven years. When they go forth they cast upon them a cloak, which hideth the other homely apparel. These cloaks throughout the whole island be all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wool. They therefore do not only spend much less woollen cloth than is spent in other countries, but also the same standeth

them in much less cost. But linen cloth is made with less labour, and is therefore had more in use. But in linen cloth only whiteness, in woollen only cleanliness is regarded. As for the smallness or fineness of the thread, that is nothing passed for. And this is the cause wherefore in other places four or five cloth gowns of divers colours, and as many silk coats be not enough for one man. Yea and if he be of the delicate and nice sort ten be too few: whereas there one garment will serve a man most commonly two years. For why should he desire more? Seeing if he had them, he should not be the better wrapped or covered from cold, neither in his apparel any whit the comelier. Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few artificers in the same crafts be sufficient, this is the cause that plenty of all things being among them, they do sometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the highways, if any be broken. Many times also, when they have no such work to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestow fewer hours in work. For the magistrates do not exercise their citizens against their wills in unneedful labours. For why in the institution of that weal public, this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind, and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

Of their living and mutual conversation together.

But now will I declare how the citizens use themselves one towards another: what familiar occupying and entertainment there is among the people, and what fashion they use in the distribution of every thing. First the city consisteth of families, the families most commonly be made of kindreds. For the women, when they be married at a lawful age, they go into their husbands' houses. But the male children with all the

whole male offspring continue still in their own family and be governed of the eldest and ancientest father, unless he dote for age: for then the next to him in age is placed in his room. But to the intent the prescript number of the citizens should neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordained that no family which in every city be six thousand in the whole, besides them of the country, shall at once have fewer children of the age of fourteen years or thereabout than ten or more than sixteen, for of children under this age no number can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or number is easily observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole city the store increase above the just number, therewith they fill up the lack of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole island pass and exceed the due number, then they choose out of every city certain citizens, and build up a town under their own laws in the next land where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also of the same country people to them, if they will join and dwell with them. They thus joining and dwelling together do easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bring the matter about by their laws, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of that land will not dwell with them to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out of those bounds which they have limited, and appointed out for themselves. And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them. For they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance do so much diminish the number of any of their cities, that it cannot be filled up again, without the diminishing of the just number of the other cities (which they say chanced

but twice since the beginning of the land through a great pestilent plague) then they fulfil and make up the number with citizens fetched out of their own foreign towns, for they had rather suffer their foreign towns to decay and perish, than any city of their own island to be diminished. But now again to the conversation of the citizens among themselves. The eldest (as I said) ruleth the family. The wives be ministers to their husbands, the children to their parents, and to be short the younger to their elders. Every city is divided into four equal parts or quarters. In the midst of every quarter there is a market place of all manner of things. Thither the works of every family be brought into certain houses. And every kind of thing is laid up several in barns or storehouses. From hence the father of every family, or every householder fetcheth whatsoever he and his have need of, and carrieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without gage, pawn, or pledge. For why should any thing be denied unto him? Seeing there is abundance of all things, and that it is not to be feared, lest any man will ask more than he needeth. For why should it be thought that that man would ask more than enough, which is sure never to lack? Certainly in all kinds of living creatures either fear of lack doth cause covetousness and ravin, or in man only pride, which counteth it a glorious thing to pass and excel other in the superfluous and vain ostentation of things. The which kind of vice among the Utopians can have no place. Next to the market places that I spake of, stand meat markets: whither be brought not only all sorts of herbs, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but also fish, and all manner of four-footed beasts, and wild fowl that be man's meat. But first the filthiness and odour thereof is clean washed away in the running river without the city in places appointed meet for the same purpose. From thence the beasts be brought in killed, and clean washed by the hands of their bondmen. For they permit not their free citizens to accustom themselves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof they think clemency, the gentlest affection of our nature, by little and little to decay and perish. Neither they suffer any

thing that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly, to be brought into the city, lest the air by the stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause pestilent diseases. Moreover every street hath certain great large halls set in equal distance one from another, every one known by a several name. In these halls dwell the syphogrants. And to every one of the same halls be appointed thirty families, on either side fifteen. The stewards of every hall at a certain hour come into the meat markets, where they receive meat according to the number of their halls. But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick, that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the city, a little without the walls, they have four hospitals, so big, so wide, so ample, and so large, that they may seem four little towns, which were devised of that bigness partly to the intent the sick, be they never so many in number, should not lie too throng or strait, and therefore uneasily and incommodiously: and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might be laid apart far from the company of the residue. These hospitals be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continual presence of cunning physicians is given, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sick person in all the city, that had not rather lie there, than at home in his own house. When the steward of the sick hath received such meats as the physicians have prescribed, then the best is equally divided among the halls, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the bishop, the tranibores, and to ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldom. But they also when they be there, have certain several houses appointed and prepared for them. To these halls at the set hours of dinner and supper cometh all the whole syphogranty or ward, warned by the noise of a brazen trumpet: except such as be sick in the hospitals, or else in their own houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or

forbid, after the halls be served, to fetch home meat out of the market to his own house, for they know that no man will do it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly: because it is counted a point of small honesty. And also it were a folly to take the pain to dress a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall. In this hall all vile service, all slavery, and drudgery, with all laboursome toil, and base business is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookery for seething and dressing the meat, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the number of their company. The men sit upon the bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, that if any sudden evil should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of anybody, and go thence into the nursery. The nurses sit several alone with their young sucklings in a certain parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and clean water, nor yet without cradles, that when they will they may lay down the young infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing clothes, and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless either death, or sickness be the let. When that chanceth, the wives of the syphogrants quickly provide a nurse. And that is not hard to be done. For they that can do it, proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that. Because that there this kind of pity is much praised: and the child that is nourished, ever after taketh his nurse for his own natural mother. Also among the nurses sit all the children that be under the age of five years. All the other children of both kinds, as well boys as girls, that be under the age of marriage, do either serve at the tables, or else if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvellous silence. That which is given to them from the table they eat, and other

several dinner-time they have none. The syphogrant and his wife sit in the midst of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honourablest place, and because from thence all the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth overthwart the over end of the hall. To them be joined two of the ancientest and eldest. For at every table they sit four at a mess. But if there be a church standing in that syphogrant or ward, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the syphogranty, as chief in the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next unto them again old men. And thus throughout all the house equal of age be set together, and yet be mixed and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordained, to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keep the younger from wanton licence of words and behaviour. Forasmuch as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places be marked with some special token to be known) be first served of their meat, and then the residue equally. The old men divide their dainties as they think best to the younger on each side of them.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and nevertheless equal commodity cometh to every one. They begin every dinner and supper of reading something that pertaineth to good manners and virtue. But it is short, because no man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor unpleasant. Howbeit they do not spend all the whole dinner-time themselves with long and tedious talks: but they gladly hear also the young men: yea, and purposely provoke them to talk, to the intent that they may have a proof of every man's wit, and towardness, or disposition to virtue, which commonly in the liberty of feasting doth show and utter itself. Their dinners be very short: but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dinner followeth labour, after supper sleep and natural rest, which they think to be of more strength and efficacy to

wholesome and healthful digestion. No supper is passed without music. Nor their banquets lack no conceits nor junkets. They burn sweet gums and spices or perfumes, and pleasant smells, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheering of the company. For they be much inclined to this opinion: to think no kind of pleasure forbidden, whereof cometh no harm. Thus therefore and after this sort they live together in the city, but in the country they that dwell alone far from any neighbours, do dine and sup at home in their own houses. For no family there lacketh any kind of victuals, as from whom cometh all that the citizens eat and live by.

Of their journeying or travelling abroad, with divers other matters cunningly reasoned, and wittily discussed.

But if any be desirous to visit either their friends dwelling in another city, or to see the place itself: they easily obtain licence of their syphogrants and tranibores, unless there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a company is sent forth together with their prince's letters, which do testify that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their return. They have a waggon given them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But unless they have women in their company, they send home the waggon again, as an impediment and a let. And though they carry nothing forth with them, yet in all their journey they lack nothing. For wheresoever they come, they be at home. If they tarry in a place longer than one day, then there every one of them falleth to his own occupation, and be very gently entertained of the workmen and companies of the same crafts. If any man of his own head and without leave, walk out of his precinct and bounds, taken without the prince's letters, he is brought again for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault again, he is punished with bondage. If any

be desirous to walk abroad into the fields, or into the country that belongeth to the same city that he dwelleth in, obtaining the goodwill of his father, and the consent of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the country soever he cometh he hath no meat given him until he have wrought out his forenoon's task, or despatched so much work, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whither he will within the bounds of his own city. For he shall be no less profitable to the city, than if he were within it. Now you see how little liberty they have to loiter: how they can have no cloak or pretence to idleness. There be neither wine taverns, nor ale-houses, nor stews, nor any occasion of vice or wickedness, no lurking corners, no places of wicked counsels or unlawful assemblies. But they be in the present sight, and under the eyes of every man. So that of necessity they must either apply their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

This fashion and trade of life, being used among the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they must of necessity have store and plenty of all things. And seeing they be all thereof partners equally, therefore can no man there be poor or needy. In the council of Amaurote, whither, as I said, every city sendeth three men apiece yearly, as soon as it is perfectly known of what things there is in every place plenty, and again what things be scant in any place: incontinent the lack of the one is performed and filled up with the abundance of the other. And this they do freely without any benefit, taking nothing again of them, to whom the thing is given, but those cities that have given of their store to any other city that lacketh, requiring nothing again of the same city, do take such things as they lack of another city, to the which they gave nothing. So the whole island is as it were one family, or household. But when they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they think not done, until they have provided for two years following, because of the uncertainty of the next year's proof) then of those things, whereof they have abundance, they carry forth into other

countries great plenty: as grain, honey, wool, flax, wood, madder, purple dyed fells, wax, tallow, leather, and living beasts. And the seventh part of all these things they give frankly and freely to the poor of that country. The residue they sell at a reasonable and mean price. By this trade of traffic or merchandise, they bring into their own country, not only great plenty of gold and silver, but also all such things as they lack at home, which is almost nothing but iron. And by reason they have long used this trade, now they have more abundance of these things, than any man will believe. Now therefore they care not whether they sell for ready money, or else upon trust to be paid at a day, and to have the most part in debts. But in so doing they never follow the credence of private men: but the assurance or warranty of the whole city, by instruments and writings made in that behalf accordingly. When the day of payment is come and expired, the city gathereth up the debt of the private debtors, and putteth it into the common box, and so long hath the use and profit of it, until the Utopians their creditors demand it. The most part of it they never ask. For that thing which is to them no profit to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they think it no right nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lend part of that money to another people, then they require their debt: or when they have war. For the which purpose only they keep at home all the treasure which they have, to be holpen and succoured by it either in extreme jeopardies, or in sudden dangers. But especially and chiefly to hire therewith, and that for unreasonable great wages, strange soldiers. For they had rather put strangers in jeopardy, than their own countrymen: knowing that for money enough, their enemies themselves many times may be bought or sold, or else through treason be set together by the ears among themselves. For this cause they keep an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they have it, and use it, as in good faith I am ashamed to show: fearing that my words shall not be believed. And this, I have more cause to fear, for that I know how difficultly and hardly I myself would have

believed another man telling the same, if I had not presently seen it with mine own eyes.

For it must needs be, that how far a thing is dissonant and disagreeing from the guise and trade of the hearers, so far shall it be out of their belief. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent esteemer of things will not greatly marvel perchance, seeing all their other laws and customs do so much differ from ours, if the use also of gold and silver among them be applied, rather to their own fashions than to ours. I mean in that they occupy not money themselves, but keep it for that chance, which as it may happen, so it may be that it shall never come to pass. In the meantime gold and silver, whereof money is made, they do so use, as none of them doth more esteem it, than the very nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doth not plainly see how far it is under iron: as without the which men can no better live than without fire and water. Whereas to gold and silver nature hath given no use, that we may not well lack: if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rareness sake. But of the contrary part, nature as a most tender and loving mother, hath placed the best and most necessary things open abroad: as the air, the water and the earth itself. And hath removed and hid farthest from us vain and unprofitable things. Therefore if these metals among them should be fast locked up in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the council (as the people is ever foolishly imagining) intended by some subtilty to deceive the commons, and to take some profit of it to themselves. Furthermore if they should make thereof plate and such other finely and cunningly wrought stuff: if at any time they should have occasion to break it, and melt it again, therewith to pay their soldiers' wages, they see and perceive very well, that men would be loath to part from those things, that they once began to have pleasure and delight in. To remedy all this they have found out a means, which, as it is agreeable to all their other laws and customs, so it is from ours, where gold is so much set by and so diligently kept, very far discrepant and repugnant: and therefore incredible, but

only to them that be wise. For whereas they eat and drink in earthen and glass vessels, which indeed be curiously and properly made, and yet be of very small value: of gold and silver they make commonly chamber pots, and other vessels, that serve for most vile uses, not only in their common halls, but in every man's private house. Furthermore of the same metals they make great chains, fetters, and gyves wherein they tie their bondmen. Finally whosoever for any offence be infamed, by their ears hang rings of gold, upon their fingers they wear rings of gold, and about their necks chains of gold, and in conclusion their heads be tied about with gold. Thus by all means possible they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy. And these metals, which other nations do as grievously and sorrowfully forego, as in a manner their own lives: if they should altogether at once be taken from the Utopians, no man there would think that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They gather also pearls by the sea-side, and diamonds and carbuncles upon certain rocks, and yet they seek not for them: but by chance finding them, they cut and polish them. And therewith they deck their young infants. Which like as in the first years of their childhood, they make much and be fond and proud of such ornaments, so when they be a little more grown in years and discretion, perceiving that none but children do wear such toys and trifles: they lay them away even of their own shamefacedness, without any bidding of their parents: even as our children, when they wax big, do cast away nuts, brooches, and puppets. Therefore these laws and customs, which be so far different from all other nations, how divers fantasies also and minds they do cause, did I never so plainly perceive, as in the ambassadors of the Anemolians.

These ambassadors came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreat of great and weighty matters, those three citizens apiece out of every city were come thither before them. But all the ambassadors of the next countries, which had been there before, and knew the fashions and manners of the Utopians, among whom they perceived no

honour given to sumptuous apparel, silks to be contemned, gold also to be infamed and reproachful, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple array. But the Anemolians, because they dwell far thence and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike, and that very rudely and homely: thinking them not to have the things which they did not wear: being therefore more proud, than wise: determined in the gorgeousness of their apparel to represent very gods, and with the bright shining and glistering of their gay clothing to dazzle the eyes of the silly poor Utopians. So there came in three ambassadors with one hundred servants all apparelled in changeable colours: the most of them in silks: the ambassadors themselves (for at home in their own country they were noblemen) in cloth of gold, with great chains of gold, with gold hanging at their ears, with gold rings upon their fingers, with brooches and aglets of gold upon their caps, which glistered full of pearls and precious stones: to be short, trimmed and adorned with all those things, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproach of infamed persons, or else trifles for young children to play withal. Therefore it would have done a man good at his heart to have seen how proudly they displayed their peacock's feathers, how much they made of their painted sheaths, and how loftily they set forth and advanced themselves, when they compared their gallant apparel with the poor raiment of the Utopians. For all the people were swarmed forth into the streets. And on the other side it was no less pleasure to consider how much they were deceived, and how far they missed of their purpose, being contrariwise taken than they thought they should have been. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, except very few, which had been in other countries for some reasonable cause, all that gorgeousness of apparel seemed shameful and reproachful. Insomuch that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lords: passing over the ambassadors themselves without any honour: judging them by their wearing of golden chains to be bondmen. Yea you should have seen children also, that had cast away their pearls and precious

stones, when they saw the like sticking upon the ambassadors' caps, dig and push their mothers under the sides, saying thus to them. Look, mother, how great a lubber doth yet wear pearls and precious stones, as though he were a little child still. But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest: peace, son, saith she: I think he be some of the ambassadors' fools. Some found fault at their golden chains, as to no use nor purpose, being so small and weak, that a bondman might easily break them, and again so wide and large, that when it pleased him, he might cast them off, and run away at liberty whither he would. But when the ambassadors had been there a day or two and saw so great abundance of gold so lightly esteemed, yea in no less reproach, than it was with them in honour: and besides that more gold in the chains and gyves of one fugitive bondman, than all the costly ornaments of them three was worth: they began to abate their courage, and for very shame laid away all that gorgeous array, whereof they were so proud. And specially when they had talked familiarly with the Utopians, and had learned all their fashions and opinions.

For they marvel that any men be so foolish, as to have delight and pleasure in the doubtful glistering of a little trifling stone, which may behold any of the stars, or else the sun itself. Or that any man is so made, as to count himself the nobler for the smaller or finer thread of wool, which selfsame wool (be it now in never so fine a spun thread) a sheep did once wear: and yet was she all that time no other thing than a sheep. They marvel also that gold, which of the own nature is a thing so unprofitable, is now among all people in so high estimation, that man himself, by whom, yea and for the use of whom it is so much set by, is in much less estimation than the gold itself. Insomuch that a lumpish blockheaded churl, and which hath no more wit than an ass, yea and as full of naughtiness as of folly, shall have nevertheless many wise and good men in subjection and bondage, only for this, because he hath a great heap of gold. Which if it should be taken from him by any fortune, or by some subtle wile and quibble of the law (which no less than

fortune doth both raise up the low and pluck down the high), and be given to the most vile slave and abject drudge of all his household, then shortly after he shall go into the service of his servant, as an augmentation or overplus beside his money. But they much more marvel at and detest the madness of them which to those rich men, in whose debt and danger they be not, do give almost divine honours, for none other consideration, but because they be rich: and yet knowing them to be such niggardly penny-fathers, that they be sure as long as they live, not the worth of one farthing of that heap of gold shall come to them.

These and such like opinions have they conceived, partly by education, being brought up in that commonwealth, whose laws and customs be far different from these kinds of folly, and partly by good literature and learning. For though there be not many in every city, which be exempt and discharged of all other labours, and appointed only to learning; that is to say, such in whom even from their very childhood they have perceived a singular towardness, a fine wit, and a mind apt to good learning: yet all in their childhood be instruct in learning. And the better part of the people, both men and women throughout all their whole life do bestow in learning those spare hours, which we said they have vacant from bodily labours. They be taught learning in their own native tongue. For it is both copious in words, and also pleasant to the ear, and for the utterance of a man's mind very perfect and sure. The most part of all that side of the world useth the same language, saving that among the Utopians it is finest and purest, and according to the diversity of the countries it is diversely altered. Of all these philosophers, whose names be here famous in this part of the world to us known, before our coming thither not as much as the fame of any of them was come among them. And yet in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry they have found out in a manner all that our ancient philosophers have taught. But as they in all things be almost equal to our old ancient clerks, so our new logicians in subtle inventions have far passed and gone beyond

them. For they have not devised one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, very wittily invented in the small logicals, which here our children in every place do learn. Furthermore they were never yet able to find out the second intentions: insomuch that none of them all could ever see man himself in common, as they call him, though he be (as you know) bigger than ever was any giant, yea and pointed to of us even with our finger. But they be in the course of the stars, and the movings of the heavenly spheres very expert and cunning. They have also wittily excogitated and devised instruments of divers fashions: wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the movings and situations of the sun, the moon, and of all the other stars, which appear in their horizon. But as for the amities and dissensions of the planets, and all that deceitful divination by the stars, they never as much as dreamed thereof. Rains, winds, and other courses of tempests they know before by certain tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of all these things and of the ebbing, flowing and saltness of the sea, and finally of the original beginning and nature of heaven and of the world, they hold partly the same opinions that our old philosophers hold, and partly, as our philosophers vary among themselves, so they also, whiles they bring new reasons of things, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all points they do not accord. In that part of philosophy, which treateth of manners and virtue, their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the soul, of the body and of fortune. And whether the name of goodness may be applied to all these, or only to the endowments and gifts of the soul.

They reason of virtue and pleasure. But the chief and principal question is in what thing, be it one or more, the felicity of man consisteth. But in this point they seem almost too much given and inclined to the opinion of them which defend pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefest part of man's felicity to rest. And (which is more to be marvelled at) the defence of this so dainty and delicate

an opinion they fetch even from their grave, sharp, bitter, and rigorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessedness, but they join unto the reasons of philosophy certain principles taken out of religion: without the which to the investigation of true felicity they think reason of itself weak and imperfect. Those principles be these and such like. That the soul is immortal, and by the bountiful goodness of God ordained to felicity. That to our virtues and good deeds rewards be appointed after this life, and to our evil deeds punishments. Though these be pertaining to religion, yet they think it meet that they should be believed and granted by proofs of reason. But if these principles were condemned and disannulled, then without any delay they pronounce no man to be so foolish, which would not do all his diligence and endeavour to obtain pleasure by right or wrong, only avoiding this inconvenience, that the less pleasure should not be a let or hindrance to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that pleasure, which would bring after it displeasure, grief, and sorrow. For they judge it extreme madness to follow sharp and painful virtue, and not only to banish the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer grief, without any hope of profit thereof ensuing. For what profit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his life unpleasantly, that is to say, miserably, shall have no reward after his death? But now, sir, they think not felicity to rest in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honest, and that hereto, as to perfect blessedness our nature is allured and drawn even of virtue, whereto only they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicity. For they define virtue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordained of God. And that he doth follow the course of nature, which in desiring and refusing things is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefly and principally kindle in men the love and veneration of the divine majesty. Of whose goodness it is that we be, and that we be in possibility to attain felicity. And that secondly it both stirreth and provoketh us to lead our life out of care in joy and mirth, and also moveth us to help and further all other in respect of

the society of nature to obtain and enjoy the same. For there was never man so earnest and painful a follower of virtue and hater of pleasure, that would so enjoin you labours, watchings and fastings, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten and relieve, to your power, the lack and misery of others, praising the same as a deed of humanity and pity. Then if it be a point of humanity for man to bring health and comfort to man, and specially (which is a virtue most peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the grief of others, and by taking from them the sorrow and heaviness of life, to restore them to joy, that is to say, to pleasure: why may it not then be said, that nature doth provoke every man to do the same to himself? For a joyful life, that is to say, a pleasant life is either evil, and if it be so, then thou shouldest not only help no man thereto, but rather, as much as in thee lieth, withdraw all men from it, as noisome and hurtful, or else if thou not only mayst, but also of duty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to thyself? To whom thou art bound to show as much favour and gentleness as to other. For when nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other she commandeth thee not to be cruel and ungentle to thyself. Therefore even very nature (say they) prescribeth to us a joyful life, that is to say, pleasure as the end of all our operations. And they define virtue to be life ordered according to the prescript of nature. But in that that nature doth allure and provoke men one to help another to live merrily (which surely she doth not without a good cause, for no man is so far above the lot of man's state or condition, that nature doth cark and care for him only, which equally favoureth all that be comprehended under the communion of one shape, form and fashion) verily she commandeth thee to use diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seek for thine own commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore their opinion is, that not only covenants and bargains made among private men ought to be well and faithfully fulfilled, observed, and kept, but also common laws, which either a good prince hath justly published, or else the people neither oppressed with tyranny, neither

deceived by fraud and guile, hath by their common consent constituted and ratified, concerning the partition of the commodities of life, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These laws not offended, it is wisdom, that thou look to thine own wealth. And to do the same for the commonwealth is no less than thy duty, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any natural zeal and affection to thy native country. But to go about to let another man of his pleasure, whilst thou procurest thine own, that is open wrong. Contrariwise to withdraw something from thyself to give to other, that is a point of humanity and gentleness: which never taketh away so much commodity, as it bringeth again. For it is recompensed with the return of benefits; and the conscience of the good deed, with the remembrance of the thankful love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bring more pleasure to thy mind, than that which thou hast withholden from thyself could have brought to thy body. Finally (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gift of a short and small pleasure with great and everlasting joy. Therefore the matter diligently weighed and considered, thus they think, that all our actions, and in them the virtues themselves, be referred at the last to pleasure, as their end and felicity. Pleasure they call every motion and state of the body or mind wherein man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they join to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not only the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasant, so that it may be gotten without wrong or injury, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, even so those things that men by vain imagination do fain against nature to be pleasant (as though it lay in their power to change the things, as they do the names of things) all such pleasures they believe to be of so small help and furtherance to felicity, that they count them a great let and hindrance. Because that in whom they have once taken place, all his mind they possess with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and natural delectations. For there be many

things, which of their own nature contain no pleasantness: yea the most part of them much grief and sorrow. And yet through the perverse and malicious flickering enticements of lewd and dishonest desires, be taken not only for special and sovereign pleasures, but also be counted among the chief causes of life. In this counterfeit kind of pleasure they put them that I spake of before; which the better gowns they have on, the better men they think themselves. In the which thing they do twice err. For they be no less deceived in that they think their gown the better, than they be, in that they think themselves the better. For if you consider the profitable use of the garment, why should wool of a finer spun thread be thought better, than the wool of a coarse spun thread? Yet they, as though the one did pass the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, advance themselves, and think the price of their own persons thereby greatly increased. And therefore the honour, which in a coarse gown they durst not have looked for, they require, as it were of duty, for their finer gown's sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it displeasantly and disdainfully. And again is it not like madness to take a pride in vain and unprofitable honours? For what natural or true pleasure dost thou take of another man's bare head, or bowed knees? Will this ease the pain of thy knees, or remedy the frenzy of thy head? In this image of counterfeit pleasure, they be of a marvellous madness, which for the opinion of nobility, rejoice much in their own conceit. Because it was their fortune to come of such ancestors, whose stock of long time hath been counted rich (for now nobility is nothing else) specially rich in lands. And though their ancestors left them not one foot of land, yet they think themselves not the less noble therefore of one hair. In this number also they count them that take pleasure and delight (as I said) in gems and precious stones, and think themselves almost gods, if they chance to get an excellent one, specially of that kind, which in that time of their own countrymen is had in highest estimation. For one kind of stone keepeth not his price still in all countries and at all times. Nor they buy them not, but taken out of the

gold and bare: no nor so neither, until they have made the seller to swear, that he will warrant and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gem. Such care they take lest a counterfeit stone should deceive their eyes instead of a right stone. But why shouldst thou not take even as much pleasure in beholding a counterfeit stone, which thine eye cannot discern from a right stone? They should both be of like value to thee, even as to the blind man. What shall I say of them, that keep superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholding, and not in the use or occupying thereof? Do they take true pleasure, or else be they deceived with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hiding the gold which they shall never occupy, nor peradventure never see more? And whiles they take care lest they shall lose it, do lose it indeed. For what is it else, when they hide it in the ground, taking it both from their own use, and perchance from all other men's also? And yet thou, when thou hast hid thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for joy. The which treasure, if it should chance to be stolen, and thou ignorant of the theft shouldst die ten years after: all that ten years' space that thou livedst after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it had been taken away or else safe as thou leftest it? Truly both ways like profit came to thee. To these so foolish pleasures they join dicers, whose madness they know by hearsay and not by use. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (say they) in casting the dice upon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there were any pleasure in it the oft use might make thee weary thereof? Or what delight can there be, and not rather displeasure in hearing the barking and howling of dogs? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felt when a dog followeth an hare, than when a dog followeth a dog? for one thing is done in both, that is to say, running, if thou hast pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter and the expectation of tearing in pieces the beast doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moved with pity to see a silly innocent hare murdered of a dog, the weak of the stronger, the fearful of the fierce, the innocent of the

cruel and unmerciful. Therefore all this exercise of hunting, as a thing unworthy to be used of free men, the Utopians have rejected to their butchers, to the which craft (as we said before) they appoint their bondmen. For they count hunting the lowest, the vilest, and most abject part of butchery, and the other parts of it more profitable and more honest, as bringing much more commodity, in that they kill beasts only for necessity. Whereas the hunter seeketh nothing but pleasure of the silly and woful beasts' slaughter and murder. The which pleasure, in beholding death, they think doth rise in the very beasts, either of a cruel affection of mind, or else to be changed in continuance of time into cruelty, by long use of so cruel a pleasure. These therefore and all such like, which be innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seeing there is no natural pleasantness in them, do plainly determine them to have no affinity with true and right pleasure. For as touching that they do commonly move the sense with delectation (which seemeth to be a work of pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewd custom is the cause hereof, which causeth them to accept bitter or sour things for sweet things. Even as women with child in their viciated and corrupt taste, think pitch and tallow sweeter than any honey. Howbeit no man's judgment depraved and corrupt, either by sickness, or by custom, can change the nature of pleasure, more than it can do the nature of other things.

They make divers kinds of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soul, and some to the body. To the soul they give intelligence and that delectation that cometh of the contemplation of truth. Hereunto is joined the pleasant remembrance of the good life past. The pleasure of the body they divide into two parts. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceived. The second part of bodily pleasure, they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiet and upright state of the body. And that truly is every man's own proper health intermingled and disturbed with no grief. For this, if it be not let nor assaulted with no grief, is delectable of

itself, though it be moved with no external or outward pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manifest to the sense, as the greedy lust of eating and drinking, yet nevertheless many take it for the chiefest pleasure. All the Utopians grant it to be a right sovereign pleasure, and as you would say, the foundation and ground of all pleasures, as which even alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasant. And it being once taken away, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without grief not having health, that they call insensibility, and not pleasure. The Utopians have long ago rejected and condemned the opinion of them which said that steadfast and quiet health (for this question also hath been diligently debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleasure, because they say it cannot be presently and sensibly perceived and felt by some outward motion. But of the contrary part now they agree almost all in this, that health is a most sovereign pleasure. For seeing that in sickness (say they) is grief, which is a mortal enemy to pleasure, even as sickness is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietness of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you say that sickness is a grief, or that in sickness is grief, for all cometh to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure itself, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fire is of heat, truly both ways it followeth that they cannot be without pleasure that be in perfect health. Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then health, which began to be impaired, fighteth by the help of food against hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by little and little getteth the upper hand, that same proceeding, and (as ye would say) that onwardness to the wonted strength ministreth that pleasure, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, which in the conflict is joyful, shall it not be merry, when it hath gotten the victory? But as soon as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing only in all the fight it coveted, shall it incontinent be astonished? Nor shall it not know nor embrace the own wealth and goodness? For where it is said, health cannot be felt: this, they think, is nothing true. For

what man waking, say they, feeleth not himself in health, but he that is not? Is there any man so possessed with stonish insensibility, or with lethargy, that is to say, the sleeping sickness, that he will not grant health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thing is delectation, than that which by another name is called pleasure? They embrace chiefly the pleasures of the mind. For them they count the chiefest and most principal of all. The chief part of them they think doth come of the exercise of virtue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they give the pre-eminence to health. For the delight of eating and drinking, and whatsoever hath any like pleasantness, they determine to be pleasures much to be desired, but no other ways than for health's sake. For such things of their own proper nature be not so pleasant, but in that they resist sickness privily stealing on. Therefore like as it is a wise man's part, rather to avoid sickness, than to wish for medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight careful griefs, than to call for comfort: so it is much better not to need this kind of pleasure, than thereby to be eased of the contrary grief. The which kind of pleasure, if any man take for his felicity, that man must needs grant, that then he shall be in most felicity, if he live that life, which is led in continual hunger, thirst, itching, eating, drinking, scratching and rubbing. The which life how not only foul, and unhonest, but also how miserable and wretched it is, who perceiveth not? These doubtless be the basest pleasures of all, as impure and imperfect. For they never come, but accompanied with their contrary griefs. As with the pleasure of eating is joined hunger, and that after no very equal sort. For of these two the grief is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not until the pleasure die with it. Wherefore such pleasures they think not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary. Howbeit they have delight also in these, and thankfully acknowledge the tender love of mother nature, which with most pleasant delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessary use whereof they must from time to time continually

be forced and driven. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daily griefs of hunger and thirst could not be driven away, but with bitter potions and sour medicines, as the other diseases be, wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But beauty, strength, nimbleness, these as peculiar and pleasant gifts of nature they make much of. But those pleasures that be received by the ears, the eyes and the nose, which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other living creature doth behold the fairness and the beauty of the world, or is moved with any respect of savours, but only for the diversity of meats, neither perceiveth the concordant and discordant distances of sounds and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and allow as certain pleasant rejoicings of life. But in all things this precaution they use, that a less pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, which they think to follow of necessity, if the pleasure be dishonest. But yet to despise the comeliness of beauty, to waste the bodily strength, to turn nimbleness into sluggishness, to consume and make feeble the body with fasting, to do injury to health, and to reject the pleasant motions of nature; unless a man neglect these commodities, whiles he doth with a fervent zeal procure the wealth of others, or the common profit, for the which pleasure forborn, he is in hope of a greater pleasure at God's hand; else for a vain shadow of virtue, for the wealth and profit of no man, to punish himself, or to the intent he may be able courageously to suffer adversity, which perchance shall never come to him; this to do they think it a point of extreme madness, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himself, and unkind towards nature, as one so disdaining to be in her danger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefits.

This is their sentence and opinion of virtue and pleasure. And they believe that by man's reason none can be found truer than this, unless any godlier be inspired into man from heaven. Wherein whether they believe well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discuss, neither it is now necessary. For we have taken upon us to show and declare their lores and ordinances,

and not to defend them. But this thing I believe verily, howsoever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neither a more excellent people, neither a more flourishing commonwealth. They be light and quick of body, full of activity and nimbleness, and of more strength than a man would judge them by their stature, which for all that is not too low. And though their soil be not very fruitful, nor their air very wholesome, yet against the air they so defend them with temperate diet, and so order and husband their ground with diligent travail, that in no country is greater increase, and plenty of corn and cattle, nor men's bodies of longer life, and subject or apt to fewer diseases. There therefore a man may see well and diligently exploited and furnished, not only those things which husbandmen do commonly in other countries, as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrenness of the ground; but also a whole wood by the hands of the people plucked up by the roots in one place, and set again in another place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. For it is less labour and business to carry grain far by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merry, quick, and fine witted, delighting in quietness, and when need requireth, able to abide and suffer much bodily labour. Else they be not greatly desirous and fond of it; but in the exercise and study of the mind they be never weary. When they had heard me speak of the Greek literature or learning (for in Latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides historians and poets) they made wonderful earnest and importunate suit unto me that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therefore to read unto them, at the first truly more because I would not seem to refuse the labour, than that I hoped that they would anything profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceived incontinent by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vain. For they began so easily to fashion their letters, so plainly to pronounce the words, so quickly to learn

by heart, and so surely to rehearse the same, that I marvelled at it, saving that the most part of them were fine and chosen wits and of ripe age, picked out of the company of the learned men, which not only of their own free and voluntary will, but also by the commandment of the council, undertook to learn this language. Therefore in less than three years' space there was nothing in the Greek tongue that they lacked. They were able to read good authors without any stay, if the book were not false. This kind of learning, as I suppose, they took so much the sooner, because, it is somewhat allied to them. For I think that this nation took their beginning of the Greeks, because their speech, which in all other points is not much unlike the Persian tongue, keepeth divers signs and tokens of the Greek language in the names of their cities and of their magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determined to enter into my fourth voyage, I cast into the ship in the stead of merchandise a pretty fardel of books, because I intended to come again rather never, than shortly) they have, I say, of me the most part of Plato's works, more of Aristotle's, also Theophrastus of plants, but in divers places (which I am sorry for) imperfect. For whilst we were a shipboard, a marmoset chanced upon the book, as it was negligently laid by, which wantonly playing therewith plucked out certain leaves, and tore them in pieces. Of them that have written the grammar, they have only Lascaris. For Theodorus I carried not with me, nor never a dictionary but Hesychius, and Dioscorides. They set great store by Plutarch's books. And they be delighted with Lucian's merry conceits and jests. Of the poets they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus' small print. Of the historians they have Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus, carried th him physic books, certain small works of Hippocrates and Galen's Microtechne. The which book they have in great est mation. For though there be almost no nation under heaven that hath less need of physic than they, yet this notwithstanding, physic is nowhere in greater honour. Because they count the knowledge of it among the goodliest and most

profitable parts of philosophy. For whiles they by the help of this philosophy search out the secret mysteries of nature, they think themselves to receive thereby not only wonderful great pleasure, but also to obtain great thanks and favour of the author and maker thereof. Whom they think, according to the fashion of other artificers, to have set forth the marvellous and gorgeous frame of the world for man with great affection attentively to behold. Whom only he hath made of wit and capacity to consider and understand the excellence of so great a work. And therefore he beareth (say they) more goodwill and love to the curious and diligent beholder and viewer of his work and marveller at the same, than he doth to him, which like a very brute beast without wit and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hath no regard to so great and so wonderful a spectacle. The wits therefore of the Utopians, inured and exercised in learning, be marvellous quick in the invention of feats helping anything to the advantage and wealth of life. Howbeit two feats they may thank us for. That is, the science of imprinting, and the craft of making paper. And yet not only us but chiefly and principally themselves.

For when we showed to them Aldus his print in books of paper, and told them of the stuff whereof paper is made, and of the feat of graving letters, speaking somewhat more, than we could plainly declare (for there was none of us, that knew perfectly either the one or the other) they forthwith very wittily conjectured the thing. And whereas before they wrote only in skins, in barks of trees, and in reeds, now they have attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And though at the first it proved not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same they shortly got the feat of both. And have so brought the matter about that if they had copies of Greek authors, they could lack no books. But now they have no more than I rehearsed before, saving that by printing of books they have multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of copies. Whosoever cometh thither to see the land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long journey-

ing well experienced and seen in the knowledge of many countries (for the which cause we were very welcome to them) him they receive and entertain wonders gently and lovingly. For they have delight to hear what is done in every land, howbeit very few merchantmen come thither. For what should they bring thither, unless it were iron, or else gold and silver, which they had rather carry home again? Also such things as are to be carried out of their land, they think it more wisdom to carry that gear forth themselves, than that other should come thither to fetch it, to the intent they may the better know the outlands on every side of them, and keep in use the feat and knowledge of sailing.

Of Bondmen, Sick Persons, Wedlock, and divers other matters.

They neither make bondmen of prisoners taken in battle, unless it be in battle that they fought themselves, nor of bondmen's children, nor to be short, of any such as they can get out of foreign countries, though he were there a bondman. But either such as among themselves for heinous offences be punished with bondage, or else such as in the cities of other lands for great trespasses be condemned to death. And of this sort of bondmen they have most store.

For many of them they bring home sometimes paying very little for them, yea most commonly getting them gratis. These sorts of bondmen they keep not only in continual work and labour, but also in bands. But their own men they handle hardest, whom they judge more desperate, and to have deserved greater punishment, because they being so godly brought up to virtue in so excellent a commonwealth, could not for all that be refrained from misdoing. Another kind of bondmen they have, when a vile drudge being a poor labourer in another country doth choose of his own free will to be a bondman among them. These they treat and order honestly, and entertain almost as gently as their own free citizens, saving that they put them to a little more labour, as thereto

accustomed. If any such be disposed to depart thence (which seldom is seen) they neither hold him against his will, neither send him away with empty hands. The sick (as I said) they see to with great affection, and let nothing at all pass concerning either physic or good diet whereby they may be restored again to their health. Such as be sick of incurable diseases they comfort with sitting by them, with talking with them, and to be short, with all manner of helps that may be. But if the disease be not only incurable, but also full of continual pain and anguish; then the priests and the magistrates exhort the man, seeing he is not able to do any duty of life, and by overliving his own death is noisome and irksome to other, and grievous to himself, that he will determine with himself no longer to cherish that pestilent and painful disease. And seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be unwilling to die, but rather take a good hope to him, and either despatch himself out of that painful life, as out of a prison, or a rack of torment, or else suffer himself willingly to be rid out of it by other. And in so doing they tell him he shall do wisely, seeing by his death he shall lose no commodity, but end his pain. And because in that act he shall follow the counsel of the priests, that is to say, of the interpreters of God's will and pleasure, they show him that he shall do like a godly and a virtuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finish their lives willingly, either with hunger, or else die in their sleep without any feeling of death. But they cause none such to die against his will, nor they use no less diligence and attendance about him, believing this to be an honourable death. Else he that killeth himself before that the priests and the council have allowed the cause of his death, him as unworthy either to be buried, or with fire to be consumed, they cast unburied into some stinking marsh. The woman is not married before she be eighteen years old. The man is four years older before he marry.

If either the man or the woman be proved to have actually offended before their marriage with another, the party that so hath trespassed is sharply punished. And both the offenders be forbidden ever after in all their life to marry: unless the

fault be forgiven by the prince's pardon. But both the goodman and the goodwife of the house where that offence was committed, as being slack and negligent in looking to their charge, be in danger of great reproach and infamy. That offence is so sharply punished, because they perceive, that unless they be diligently kept from the liberty of this vice, few will join together in the love of marriage, wherein all the life must be led with one, and also all the griefs and displeasures coming therewith patiently be taken and borne. Furthermore in choosing wives and husbands they observe earnestly and straitly a custom, which seemed to us very fond and foolish. For a sad and an honest matron showeth the woman, be she maid or widow, naked to the wooer. And likewise a sage and discreet man exhibiteth the wooer naked to the woman. At this custom we laughed and disallowed it as foolish. But they on the other part do greatly wonder at the folly of all other nations, which in buying a colt, whereas a little money is in hazard, be so chary and circumspect, that though he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him, unless the saddle and all the harness be taken off, lest under those coverings be hid some gall or sore. And yet in choosing a wife, which shall be either pleasure, or displeasure to them all their life after, they be so reckless, that all the residue of the woman's body being covered with clothes, they esteem her scarcely by one hand-breadth (for they can see no more but her face), and so to join her to them not without great jeopardy of evil agreeing together, if anything in her body afterward should chance of offend and mislike them.

For all men be not so wise, as to have respect to the virtuous conditions of the party. And the endowments of the body cause the virtues of the mind more to be esteemed and regarded: yea even in the marriages of wise men. Verily so foul deformity may be hid under those coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away the man's mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawful for their bodies to be separate again. If such deformity happen by any chance after the marriage is consummate and finished, well, there is no remedy

but patience. Every man must take his fortune well-a-worth. But it were well done that a law were made whereby all such deceits might be eschewed and avoided beforehand.

And this were they constrained more earnestly to look upon, because they only of the nations in that part of the world be content every man with one wife apiece.

And matrimony is there never broken, but by death; except adultery break the bond, or else the intolerable wayward manners of either party. For if either of them find themselves for any such cause grieved, they may by the licence of the council change and take another. But the other party liveth ever after in infamy and out of wedlock. Howbeit the husband to put away his wife for no other fault, but for that some mishap is fallen to her body, this by no means they will suffer. For they judge it a great point of cruelty, that anybody in their most need of help and comfort, should be cast off and forsaken, and that old age, which both bringeth sickness with it, and is a sickness itself, should unkindly and unfaithfully be dealt withal. But now and then it chanceth, whereas the man and the woman cannot well agree between themselves, both of them finding other, with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily, that they by the full consent of them both be divorced asunder and married again to other. But that not without the authority of the council. Which agreeth to no divorces, before they and their wives have diligently tried and examined the matter. Yea and then also they be loath to consent to it, because they know this to be the next way to break love between man and wife, to be in easy hope of a new marriage. Breakers of wedlock be punished with most grievous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then the parties which in that behalf have suffered wrong, being divorced from the adulterers, be married together, if they will or else to whom they list. But if either of them both do still continue in love toward so unkind a bedfellow, the use of wedlock is not to them forbidden, if the party faultless be disposed to follow in toiling and drudgery the person which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And

very oft it chanceth that the repentance of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, doth so move the prince with pity and compassion, that he restoreth the bond person from servitude to liberty and freedom again. But if the same party be taken again in that fault there is no other way but death. To other trespassers no prescript punishment is appointed by any law. But according to the heinousness of the offence, or contrary, so the punishment is moderated by the discretion of the council. The husbands chastise their wives, and the parents their children, unless they have done any so horrible an offence, that the open punishment thereof maketh much for the advancement of honest manners. But most commonly the most heinous faults be punished with the incommodity of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no less grief, and to the commonwealth more profit, than if they should hastily put them to death, and so make them quite out of the way. For there cometh more profit of their labour, than of their death, and by their example they fear other the longer from like offences. But if they being thus used, do rebel and kick again, then forsooth they be slain as desperate and wild beasts, whom neither prison nor chain could restrain and keep under. But they which take their bondage patiently, be not left all hopeless. For after they have been broken and tamed with long miseries, if then they show such repentance, as thereby it may be perceived that they be sorrier for their offence than for their punishment, sometimes by the prince's prerogative, and sometimes by the voice and consent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated, or else clean released and forgiven. He that moveth to adultery is in no less danger and jeopardy than if he had committed adultery indeed. For in all offences they count the intent and purpose as evil as the act or deed itself, thinking that no let ought to excuse him that did his best to have no let. They have singular delight and pleasure in fools. And as it is a great reproach to do any of them hurt or injury, so they prohibit not to take pleasure of foolishness. For that, they think, doth much good to the fools. And if any man be so sad and stern,

that he cannot laugh neither at their words, nor at their deeds, none of them be committed to his tuition; for fear lest he would not treat them gently and favourably enough, to whom they should bring no delectation (for other goodness in them is none) much less any profit should they yield him. To mock a man for his deformity, or for that he lacketh any part or limb of his body, is counted great dishonesty and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which unwisely doth upbraid any man of that as a vice, that was not in his power to eschew. Also as they count and reckon very little wit to be in him, that regardeth not natural beauty and comeliness, so to help the same with paintings, is taken for a vain and a wanton pride, not without great infamy. For they know, even by very experience, that no comeliness of beauty doth so highly commend and advance the wives in the conceit of their husbands, as honest conditions and lowliness. For as love is oftentimes won with beauty, so it is not kept, preserved and continued, but by virtue and obedience. They do not only fear their people from doing evil by punishments, but also allure them to virtue with rewards of honour. Therefore they set up in the market-place the images of notable men, and of such as have been great and bountiful benefactors to the commonwealth, for the perpetual memory of their good acts, and also that the glory and renown of the ancestors may stir and provoke their posterity to virtue. He that inordinately and ambitiously desireth promotions is left all hopeless for ever attaining any promotion as long as he liveth. They live together lovingly. For no magistrate is either haughty or fearful. Fathers they be called, and like fathers they use themselves. The citizens (as it is their duty) willingly exhibit unto them due honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himself is not known from the other by princely apparel, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diadem royal, or cap of maintenance, but by a little sheaf of corn carried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, whereby only he is known. They have but few laws. For to people so instruct and institute very few do suffice. Yea this thing they

chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable books of laws and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men should be bound to those laws, which either be in number more than be able to be read, or else blinder and darker, than that any man can well understand them. Furthermore they utterly exclude and banish all attorneys, proctors, and sergeants at the law; which craftily handle matters, and subtly dispute of the laws. For they think it most meet, that every man should plead his own matter, and tell the same tale before the judge that he would tell to his man of law. So shall there be less circumstance of words, and the truth shall sooner come to light, whiles the judge with a discreet judgment doth weigh the words of him whom no lawyer hath instruct with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wits against the false and malicious circumventions of crafty children. This is hard to be observed in other countries, in so infinite a number of blind and intricate laws. But in Utopia every man is a cunning lawyer. For (as I said) they have very few laws; and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is, that they allow as most just. For all laws (say they) be made and published only to the intent that by them every man should be put in remembrance of his duty. But the crafty and subtle interpretation of them (forasmuch as few can attain thereto) can put very few in that remembrance, whereas the simple, the plain and gross meaning of the laws is open to every man.

Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number, and have most need to know their duties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bring so blind an interpretation upon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can discuss it? To the finding out whereof neither the gross judgment of the people can attain, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their livings can suffice thereto. These virtues of the Utopians have caused their next neighbours and borderers, which live free and under no subjection (for the Utopians long ago, have delivered many of them from tyranny)

to take magistrates of them, some for a year, and some for five years' space. Which when the time of their office is expired, they bring home again with honour and praise, and take new again with them into their country. These nations have undoubtedly very well and wholesomely provided for their commonwealths. For seeing that both the making and marring of the weal public doth depend and hang upon the manners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers could they more wisely have chosen, than those which cannot be led from honesty by bribes (for to them that shortly after shall depart thence into their own country money should be unprofitable) nor yet be moved either with favour, or malice towards any man, as being strangers, and unacquainted with the people? The which two vices of affection and avarice, where they take place in judgments, incontinent they break justice, the strongest and surest bond of a commonwealth. These peoples which fetch their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians call their fellows. And other to whom they have been beneficial, they call their friends. As touching leagues, which in other places between country and country be so oft concluded, broken and renewed, they never make none with any nation. For to what purpose serve leagues? say they. As though nature had not set sufficient love between man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, think you that he will pass for words? They be brought into this opinion chiefly, because that in those parts of the world, leagues between princes be wont to be kept and observed very slenderly. For here in Europe, and especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is everywhere esteemed holy and inviolable, partly through the justice and goodness of princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head bishops. Which like as they make no promise themselves but they do very religiously perform the same, so they exhort all princes in any wise to abide by their promises, and them that refuse or deny so to do, by their pontifical power and authority they compel thereto. And surely they think well that it might seem a very reproachful thing, if in the leagues of them

which by a peculiar name be called faithful, faith should have no place. But in that new found part of the world, which is scarcely so far from us beyond the line equinoctial as our life and manners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the more and holier ceremonies the league is knit up with, the sooner it is broken by some cavillation found in the words, which many times of purpose be so craftily put in and placed, that the bands can never be so sure nor so strong, but they will find some hole open to creep out at, and to break both league and truth. The which crafty dealing, yea the which fraud and deceit, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargains and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with an open mouth and a sour countenance, as an offence most detestable, and worthy to be punished with a shameful death: yea even very they that advance themselves authors of like counsel given to princes. Wherefore it may well be thought, either that all justice is but a base and a low virtue, and which abaseth itself far under the high dignity of kings; or at the leastwise, that there be two justices, the one meet for the inferior sort of the people, going afoot and creeping low by the ground, and bound down on every side with many bands because it shall not run at rovers; the other a princely virtue, which like as it is of much higher majesty than the other poor justice, so also it is of much more liberty, as to the which nothing is unlawful that it lusteth after. These manners of princes (as I said) which be there so evil keepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all, which perchance would change their mind if they lived here. Howbeit they think that though leagues be never so faithfully observed and kept, yet the custom of making leagues was very evil begun. For this causeth men (as though nations which be separate asunder, by the space of a little hill or a river, were coupled together by no society or bond of nature) to think themselves born adversaries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawful for the one to seek the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues be accorded, friendship doth not grow and increase; but the

licence of robbing and stealing doth still remain, as farforth as for lack of foresight and advisement in writing the words of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrary is not therein sufficiently comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion. That is, that no man ought to be counted an enemy, which hath done no injury. And that the fellowship of nature is a strong league; and that men be better and more surely knit together by love and benevolence, than by covenants of leagues; by hearty affection of mind, than by words.

Of Warfare.

War or battle as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kind of beasts in so much use as to man, they do detest and abhor. And contrary to the custom almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glory, as glory gotten in war. And therefore though they do daily practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of war, and not only the men, but also the women upon certain appointed days, lest they should be to seek in the feat of arms, if need should require, yet they never go to battle, but either in the defence of their own country, or to drive out of their friend's land the enemies that have invaded it, or by their power to deliver from the yoke and bondage of tyranny some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of mere pity and compassion. Howbeit they send help to their friends; not ever in their defence, but sometimes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not unless their counsel and advice in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet new and fresh. For if they find the cause probable, and if the contrary part will not restore again such things as be of them justly demanded, then they be the chief authors and makers of the war. Which they do not only as oft as by inroads and invasions of soldiers, preys and booties be driven away, but then also much more mortally, when their friend's merchants in any land, either under the pretence of unjust laws, or else by the wresting and wrong understanding of good laws, do sustain an unjust accusation

under the colour of justice. Neither the battle which the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a little before our time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete merchantmen, as the Utopians thought, suffered wrong of the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruel and mortal war revenged, the countries round about joining their help and power to the puissance and malice of both parties, that most flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewdly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischiefs were not finished nor ended, until the Alaopolitanes at the last were yielded up as bondmen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the war, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. So eagerly the Utopians prosecute the injuries done to their friends, yea, in money matters; and not their own likewise. For if they by cunning or guile be defrauded of beside their goods, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreak their anger by abstaining from occupying with that nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not because they set less store by their own citizens, than by their friends; but that they take the loss of their friends' money more heavily than the loss of their own. Because that their friends' merchantmen, forasmuch as that they lose is their own private goods, sustain great damage by the loss. But their own citizens lose nothing but of the common goods, and of that which was at home plentiful and almost superfluous, else had it not been sent forth. Therefore no man feeleth the loss. And for this cause they think it too cruel an act, to revenge that loss with the death of many, the incommodity of the which loss no man feeleth neither in his life, nor yet in his living. But if it chance that any of their men in any other country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a private counsel, knowing and trying out the truth of the matter by their ambassadors, unless the offenders be rendered unto them in recompense of the injury, they will not be appeased; but incontinent

they proclaim war against them. The offenders yielded, they punish either with death or with bondage. They be not only sorry, but also ashamed to achieve the victory with bloodshed, counting it great folly to buy precious wares too dear. They rejoice and avaunt themselves, if they vanquish and oppress their enemies by craft and deceit. And for that act they make a general triumph, and as if the matter were manfully handled, they set up a pillar of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victory. For then they glory, then they boast and crack that they have played the men indeed, when they have so overcome, as no other living creature but only man could; that is to say, by the might and puissance of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) bears, lions, boars, wolves, dogs and other wild beasts do fight. And as the most part of them do pass us in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger than they all. Their chief and principal purpose in war, is to obtain that thing, which if they had before obtained, they would not have moved battle. But if that be not possible, they take so cruel vengeance of them which be in the fault, that ever after they be afraid to do the like. This is their chief and principal intent, which they immediately and first of all prosecute, and set forward. But yet so, that they be more circumspect in avoiding and eschewing jeopardies, than they be desirous of praise and renown. Therefore immediately after that war is once solemnly denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their own common seal to be set up privily at one time in their enemies' land, in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to him that will kill their enemies' prince, and somewhat less gifts, but them very great also, for every head of them, whose names be in the said proclamations contained. They be those whom they count their chief adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them alive; yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they will change their minds and come into them, taking

their parts, they proffer the same great rewards with pardon and surety of their lives. Therefore it quickly cometh to pass that their enemies have all other men in suspicion, and be unfaithful and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great fear, and in no less jeopardy. For it is well known, that divers times the most part of them (and specially the prince himself) hath been betrayed of them, in whom they put their most hope and trust. So that there is no manner of act nor deeds that gifts and rewards do not enforce men unto. And in rewards they keep no measure. But remembering and considering into how great hazard and jeopardy they call them, endeavour themselves to recompense the greatness of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promise not only wonderful great abundance of gold, but also lands of great revenues lying in most safe places among their friends. And their promises they perform faithfully without any fraud or deceit. This custom of buying and selling adversaries among other people is disallowed, as a cruel act of a base and a cowardish mind. But they in this behalf think themselves much praiseworthy, as who like wise men by this means despatch great wars without any battle or skirmish. Yea they count it also a deed of pity and mercy, because that by the death of a few offenders the lives of a great number of innocents, as well of their own men as also of their enemies, be ransomed and saved, which in fighting should have been slain. For they do no less pity the base and common sort of their enemies' people, than they do their own; knowing that they be driven and enforced to war against their wills by the furious madness of their princes and heads. If by none of these means the matter go forward as they would have it, then they procure occasions of debate and dissension to be spread among their enemies. As by bringing the prince's brother, or some of the noblemen, in hope to obtain the kingdom. If this way prevail not, then they raise up the people that be next neighbours and borderers to their enemies, and them they set in their necks under the colour of some old title of right, such as kings do never lack. To them they promise their help and aid in their war. And as

for money they give them abundance. But of their own citizens they send to them few or none. Whom they make so much of and love so entirely, that they would not be willing to change any of them for their adversary's prince. But their gold and silver, because they keep it all for this only purpose, they lay it out frankly and freely; as who should live even as wealthily, if they had bestowed it every penny. Yea and besides their riches, which they keep at home, they have also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I said before) many nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire soldiers out of all countries and send them to battle, but chiefly of the Zapoletes. This people is five hundred miles from Utopia eastward. They be hideous, savage and fierce, dwelling in wild woods and high mountains, where they were bred and brought up. They be of an hard nature, able to abide and sustain heat, cold and labour, abhorring from all delicate dainties, occupying no husbandry nor tillage of the ground, homely and rude both in building of their houses and in their apparel, given unto no goodness, but only to the breeding and bringing up of cattle. The most part of their living is by hunting and stealing. They be born only to war, which they diligently and earnestly seek for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They go forth of their country in great companies together, and whosoever lacketh soldiers, there they proffer their service for small wages. This is only the craft they have to get their living by. They maintain their life by seeking their death. For them with whom they be in wages they fight hardily, fiercely, and faithfully. But they bind themselves for no certain time. But upon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other side for greater wages, and the next day after that, they will be ready to come back again for a little more money. There be few wars thereaway, wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore it daily chanceth that nigh kinsfolk, which were hired together on one part, and there very friendly and familiarly used themselves one with another, shortly after being separate in contrary parts, run

one against another enviously and fiercely, and forgetting both kindred and friendship, thrust their swords one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hired of contrary princes for a little money. Which they do so highly regard and esteem, that they will easily be provoked to change parts for a halfpenny more wages by the day. So quickly they have taken a smack in covetousness. Which for all that is to them no profit. For that they get by fighting, immediately they spend unthriftily and wretchedly in riot. This people fighteth for the Utopians against all nations, because they give them greater wages than any other nation will. For the Utopians like as they seek good men to use well, so they seek these evil and vicious men to abuse. Whom, when need requireth, with promises of great rewards they put forth into great jeopardies. From whence the most part of them never cometh again to ask their rewards. But to them that remain alive they pay that which they promised faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put themselves in like danger another time. Nor the Utopians pass not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they believe that they should do a very good deed for all mankind, if they could rid out of the world all that foul stinking den of that most wicked and cursed people. Next unto these they use the soldiers of them for whom they fight. And then the help of their other friends. And last of all, they join to their own citizens. Among whom they give to one of tried virtue and prowess the rule, governance, and conduction of the whole army. Under him they appoint two other, which, whiles he is safe, be both private and out of office. But if he be taken or slain, the one of the other two succeedeth him, as it were by inheritance. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh his room, lest that (as the chance of battle is uncertain and doubtful) the jeopardy or death of the captain should bring the whole army in hazard. They choose soldiers, out of every city, those which put forth themselves willingly. For they thrust no man forth into war against his will. Because they believe, if any man be fearful and faint-hearted of nature, he will not only do no manful and hardy act himself, but also be occasion of

cowardice to his fellows. But if any battle be made against their own country, then they put these cowards (so that they be strong-bodied) in ships among other bold-hearted men. Or else they dispose them upon the walls, from whence they may not fly. Thus what for shame that their enemies be at hand, and what for because they be without hope of running away, they forget all fear. And many times extreme necessity turneth cowardice into prowess and manliness. But as none of them is thrust forth of his country into war against his will, so women that be willing to accompany their husbands in times of war be not prohibited or let. Yea they provoke and exhort them to it with praises. And in set field the wives do stand every one by their own husband's side. Also every man is compassed next about with his own children, kinsfolks, and alliance. That they, whom nature chiefly moveth to mutual succour, thus standing together, may help one another. It is a great reproach and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her husband, or the son without his father. And therefore if the other part stick so hard by it that the battle come to their hands, it is fought with great slaughter and bloodshed, even to the utter destruction of both parts. For as they make all the means and shifts that may be to keep themselves from the necessity of fighting, or that they may despatch the battle by their hired soldiers; so when there is no remedy, but that they must needs fight themselves, they do as courageously fall to it, as before, whiles they might, they did wisely avoid and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first brunt. But in continuance by little and little their fierce courage increaseth, with so stubborn and obstinate minds, that they will rather die than give back an inch. For that surety of living, which every man hath at home being joined with no careful anxiety or remembrance how their posterity shall live after them (for this pensiveness oftentimes breaketh and abateth courageous stomachs) maketh them stout and hardy, and disdainful to be conquered. Moreover their knowledge in chivalry and feats of arms putteth them in a good hope. Finally

the wholesome and virtuous opinions, wherein they were brought up even from their childhood, partly through learning, and partly through the good ordinances and laws of their weal public, augment and increase their manful courage. By reason whereof they neither set so little store by their lives, that they will rashly and unadvisedly cast them away: nor they be not so far in lewd and fond love therewith, that they will shamefully covet to keep them, when honesty biddeth leave them. When the battle is hottest and in all places most fierce and fervent, a band of chosen and picked young men, which be sworn to live and die together, take upon them to destroy their adversary's captain. Whom they invade, now with privy wiles, now by open strength. At him they strike both near and far off. He is assailed with a long and a continual assault, fresh men still coming in the wearied men's places. And seldom it chanceth (unless he save himself by flying) that he is not either slain, or else taken prisoner and yielded to his enemies alive. If they win the field, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alive than kill them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursuit of their enemies, but they leave behind them one part of their host in battle array under their standards. Insomuch that if all their whole army be discomforted and overcome saving the rearward, and that they therewith achieve the victory, then they had rather let all their enemies 'scape, than to follow them out of array. For they remember, it hath chanced unto themselves more than once; the whole power and strength of their host being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoicing in the victory have persecuted them flying some one way and some another; a small company of their men lying in an ambush, there ready at all occasions, have suddenly risen upon them thus dispersed and scattered out of array, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase, and have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battle, and spite of their teeth wresting out of their hands the sure and undoubted victory, being a little before conquered, have for their part conquered the con-

querors. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an ambush, or wittier in avoiding the same. You would think they intend to fly, when they mean nothing less. And contrariwise when they go about that purpose, you would believe it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceive themselves either overmatched in number, or closed in too narrow a place, then they remove their camp either in the night season with silence, or by some policy they deceive their enemies, or in the daytime they retire back so softly, that it is no less jeopardy to meddle with them when they give back, than when they press on. They fence and fortify their camp surely with a deep and a broad trench. The earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudges and slaves awork about it. It is done by the hands of the soldiers themselves. All the whole army worketh upon it, except them that keep watch and ward in harness before the trench for sudden adventures. Therefore by the labour of so many a large trench closing in a great compass of ground is made in less time than any man would believe. Their armour or harness, which they wear, is sure and strong to receive strokes, and handsome for all movings and gestures of the body, insomuch that it is not unwieldy to swim in. For in the discipline of their warfare among other feats they learn to swim in harness. Their weapons be arrows aloof, which they shoot both strongly and surely, not only footmen, but also horsemen. At hand strokes they use not swords but pollaxes, which be mortal, as well in sharpness, as in weight, both for foins and down strokes. Engines for war they devise and invent wonders wittily. Which when they be made they keep very secret, lest if they should be known before need require, they should be but laughed at and serve to no purpose. But in making them, hereunto they have chief respect, that they be both easy to be carried, and handsome to be moved and turned about. Truce taken with their enemies for a short time they do so firmly and faithfully keep, that they will not break it; no, not though they be thereunto provoked. They do not waste nor destroy their enemies' land with foragings, nor they burn not up their corn. Yea, they save it as much as

may be from being overrun and trodden down either with men or horses, thinking that it groweth for their own use and profit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, unless he be an espial. All cities that be yielded unto them they defend. And such as they win by force of assault, they neither despoil nor sack, but them that withstood and dissuaded the yielding up of the same, they put to death; the other soldiers they punish with bondage. All the weak multitude they leave untouched. If they know that any citizens counselled to yield and render up the city, to them they give part of the condemned men's goods. The residue they distribute and give freely among them, whose help they had in the same war. For none of themselves taketh any portion of the prey. But when the battle is finished and ended, they put their friends to never a penny cost of all the charges that they were at, but lay it upon their necks that be conquered. Them they burden with the whole charge of their expenses, which they demand of them partly in money to be kept for like use of battle, and partly in lands of great revenues to be paid unto them yearly for ever. Such revenues they have now in many countries. Which by little and little rising of divers and sundry causes be increased above seven hundred thousand ducats by the year. Thither they send forth some of their citizens as lieutenants, to live there sumptuously like men of honour and renown. And yet, this notwithstanding, much money is saved, which cometh to the common treasury; unless it so chance that they had rather trust the country with the money. Which many times they do so long, until they have need to occupy it. And it seldom happeneth that they demand all. Of these lands they assign part unto them which, at their request and exhortation, put themselves in such jeopardies as I spake of before. If any prince stir up war against them, intending to invade their land, they meet him incontinent out of their own borders with great power and strength. For they never lightly make war in their own country. Nor they be never brought into so extreme necessity as to take help out of foreign lands into their own island.

Of the Religions in Utopia.

There be divers kinds of religion not only in sundry parts of the island, but also in divers places of every city. Some worship for God, the sun; some, the moon; some, some other of the planets. There be that give worship to a man that was once of excellent virtue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and highest God. But the most and the wisest part (rejecting all these) believe that there is a certain godly power unknown, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far above the capacity and reach of man's wit, dispersed throughout all the world, not in bigness, but in virtue and power. Him they call the father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasings, the proceedings, the changes and the ends of all things. Neither they give any divine honours to any other than to him. Yea all the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this point they agree all together with the wisest sort, in believing that there is one chief and principal God, the maker and ruler of the whole world: whom they all commonly in their country language call Mithra. But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and among some another. For every one of them, whatsoever that is which he taketh for the chief God, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only divine might and majesty the sum and sovereignty of all things by the consent of all people is attributed and given. Howbeit they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this variety of superstitions, and to agree together in that religion which seemeth by reason to pass and excel the residue. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long ago have been abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thing happened to any of them, as he was minded to change his religion, the fearfulness of people did take it, not as a thing coming by chance, but as sent from God out of heaven. As though the God whose honour he was forsaking would revenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they heard us speak of the name of Christ, of his doctrine, laws, miracles, and of the no less

wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood willingly shed brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of the world into their sect; you will not believe with how glad minds, they agreed unto the same: whether it were by the secret inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it nighest unto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I think this was no small help and furtherance in the matter, that they heard us say, that Christ instituted among his, all things common; and that the same community doth yet remain amongst the rightest Christian companies. Verily howsoever it came to pass, many of them consented together in our religion, and were washed in the holy water of baptism. But because among us four (for no more of us was left alive, two of our company being dead) there was no priest; which I am right sorry for; they being entered and instructed in all other points of our religion, lack only those sacraments, which here none but priests do minister. Howbeit they understand and perceive them and be very desirous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether without the sending of a Christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receive the order of priesthood. And truly they were minded to choose one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also which do not agree to Christ's religion, fear no man from it, nor speak against any man that hath received it. Saving that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He as soon as he was baptised began against our wills, with more earnest affection than wisdom, to reason of Christ's religion; and began to wax so hot in his matter, that he did not only prefer our religion before all other, but also did utterly despise and condemn all other, calling them profane, and the followers of them wicked and devilish and the children of everlasting damnation. When he had thus long reasoned the matter, they laid hold on him, accused him and condemned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a seditious person and a raiser up of dissension among the people. For this is one of the ancientest laws among them; that no man shall be blamed

for reasoning in the maintenance of his own religion. For King Utopus, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were, before his coming thither, at continual dissension and strife among themselves for their religions; perceiving also that this common dissension (whiles every several sect took several parts in fighting for their country) was the only occasion of his conquest over them all, as soon as he had gotten the victory; first of all he made a decree, that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without haste and contentious rebuking and inveighing against other. If he could not by fair and gentle speech induce them unto his opinion yet he should use no kind of violence, and refrain from displeasant and seditious words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strive and contend was decreed banishment or bondage. This law did King Utopus make not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continual contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished; but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedly, as doubting whether God desiring manifold and divers sorts of honour, would inspire sundry men with sundry kinds of religion. And this surely he thought a very unmeet and foolish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compel all other by violence and threatenings to agree to the same that thou believest to be true. Furthermore though there be one religion which alone is true, and all other vain and superstitious, yet did he well foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason, and sober modesty) that the truth of the own power would at the last issue out and come to light. But if contention and debate in that behalf should continually be used, as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborn, and in their evil opinion most constant; he perceived that then the best and holiest religion would be trodden underfoot and destroyed by most vain superstitions, even as good corn is by thorns and weeds overgrown

and choked. Therefore all this matter he left undiscussed, and gave to every man free liberty and choice to believe what he would. Saving that he earnestly and straightly charged them, that no man should conceive so vile and base an opinion of the dignity of man's nature, as to think that the souls do die and perish with the body; or that the world runneth at all adventures governed by no divine providence. And therefore they believe that after this life vices be extremely punished and virtues bountifully rewarded. Him that is of a contrary opinion they count not in the number of men, as one that hath abased the high nature of his soul to the vileness of brute beasts' bodies, much less in the number of their citizens, whose laws and ordinances, if it were not for fear, he would nothing at all esteem. For you may be sure that he will study either with craft privily to mock, or else violently to break the common laws of his country, in whom remaineth no further fear than of the laws, nor no further hope than of the body. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all offices and rejected from all common administrations in the public weal. And thus he is of all sorts despised, as of an unprofitable and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no man's power to believe what he list. No nor they constrain him not with threatenings to dissemble his mind and show countenance contrary to his thought. For deceit and falsehood and all manners of lies, as next unto fraud, they do marvellously detest and abhor. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that only among the common people. For else apart among the priests and men of gravity they do not only suffer, but also exhort him to dispute and argue, hoping that at the last, that madness will give place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small number, which be not forbidden to speak their minds, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, being in their living neither evil nor vicious. Their heresy is much contrary to the other. For they believe that the souls of brute beasts be immortal and everlasting. But nothing to be compared with ours in dignity, neither ordained

nor predestinate to like felicity. For all they believe certainly and surely that man's bliss shall be so great, that they do mourn and lament every man's sickness, but no man's death, unless it be one whom they see depart from his life carefully and against his will. For this they take for a very evil token, as though the soul being in despair and vexed in conscience, through some privy and secret fore-feeling of the punishment now at hand were afraid to depart. And they think he shall not be welcome to God, which, when he is called, runneth not to him gladly, but is drawn by force and sore against his will. They therefore that see this kind of death do abhor it, and them that so die they bury with sorrow and silence. And when they have prayed God to be merciful to the soul and mercifully to pardon the infirmities thereof, they cover the dead corse with earth. Contrariwise all that depart merrily and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse with joyful singing, commending the souls to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence they burn the bodies. And in the same place they set up a pillar of stone, with the dead man's titles therein graved. When they be come home they rehearse his virtuous manners and his good deeds. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death. They think that this remembrance of the virtue and goodness of the dead doth vehemently provoke and enforce the living to virtue. And that nothing can be more pleasant and acceptable to the dead. Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talk of them, though to the dull and feeble eyesight of mortal men they be invisible. For it were an inconvenient thing that the blessed should not be at liberty to go whither they would. And it were a point of great unkindness in them to have utterly cast away the desire of visiting and seeing their friends, to whom they were in their lifetime joined by mutual love and amity. Which in good men after their death they count to be rather increased than diminished. They believe therefore that the dead be presently conversant among the quick, as

beholders and witnesses of all their words and deeds. Therefore they go more courageously to their business as having a trust and affiance in such overseers. And this same belief of the present conversation of their forefathers and ancestors among them feareth them from all secret dishonesty. They utterly despise and mock soothsayings and divinations of things to come by the flight or voices of birds, and all other divinations of vain superstition, which in other countries be in great observation. But they highly esteem and worship miracles that come by no help of nature, as works and witnesses of the present power of God. And such they say do chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtful matters, by common intercession and prayers, they procure and obtain them with a sure hope and confidence, and a steadfast belief.

They think that the contemplation of nature and the praise thereof coming, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion, that they pass nothing for learning, nor give their minds to any knowledge of things. But idleness they utterly forsake and eschew, thinking felicity after this life to be gotten and obtained by busy labours and good exercises. Some therefore of them attend upon the sick, some amend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, dig turfs, gravel and stones, fell and cleave wood, bring wood, corn, and other things into the cities in carts, and serve not only in common works, but also in private labours as servants, yea, more than bondmen. For whatsoever unpleasant, hard and vile work is anywhere, from the which labour, loathsomeness and desperation doth freight other, all that they take upon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiet and rest to other, remaining in continual work and labour themselves, not upbraiding others therewith. They neither reprove other men's lives, nor glory in their own. These men the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be divided into two sects. The one is of them that live single and chaste, abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from eating of flesh, and some of

them from all manner of beasts. Which utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtful, be all wholly set upon the desire of the life to come by watching and sweating, hoping shortly to obtain it, being in the mean season merry and lusty. The other sect is no less desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimony, not despising the solace thereof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature without labour and toil, nor towards their native country without procreation of children. They abstain from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of four-footed beasts, because they believe that by that meat they be made hardier and stronger to work. The Utopians count this sect the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they prefer single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honour and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they call Buthrescas, the which word by interpretation signifieth to us men of religion or religious men. They have priests of exceeding holiness, and therefore very few. For there be but thirteen in every city according to the number of their churches, saving when they go forth to battle. For then seven of them go forth with the army; in whose stead so many new be made at home. But the other at their return home again re-enter every one into his own place, they that be above the number, until such time as they succeed into the places of the other at their dying, be in the mean season continually in company with the bishop. For he is the chief head of them all. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secret voices for the avoiding of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own company. They be overseers of all divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were judges and masters of manners. And it is a great dishonesty and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living. But as it is their office to give good exhortations and counsel, so is it the duty of the prince

and the other magistrates to correct and punish offenders, saving that the priests, whom they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters. And there is almost no punishment among them more feared. For they run in very great infamy, and be inwardly tormented with a secret fear of religion, and shall not long 'scape free with their bodies. For unless they by quick repentance approve the amendment of their lives to the priests, they be taken and punished of the council, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhood and youth is instructed and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligent to instruct them in learning, than in virtue and good manners. For they use with very great endeavour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliant, good opinions and profitable for the conversation of their weal public. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remain with them all their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenance of the state of the commonwealth. Which never decayeth but through vices rising of evil opinions. The priests, unless they be women (for that kind is not excluded from priesthood, howbeit few be chosen, and none but widows and old women) the men priests, I say, take to their wives the chiefest women in all their country. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and pre-eminence given. Insomuch that if they commit any offence, they be under no common judgment, but be left only to God and themselves. For they think it not lawful to touch him with man's hand, be he never so vicious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to God, as a holy offering. This manner may they easily observe, because they have so few priests, and do choose them with such circumspection. For it scarcely ever chanceth that the most virtuous among virtuous, which in respect only of his virtue is advanced to so high a dignity, can fall to vice and wickedness. And if it should chance indeed (as man's nature is mutable and frail) yet by reason they be so few and promoted to no might nor power, but only to honour, it were not to be feared that any great

damage by them should happen and ensue to the commonwealth. They have so rare and few priests, lest if the honour were communicated to many, the dignity of the order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run in contempt. Specially because they think it hard to find many so good as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficient to be endued with mean virtues. Furthermore these priests be not more esteemed of their own countrymen, than they be of foreign and strange countries. Which thing may hereby plainly appear. And I think also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open field they a little beside, not far off kneel upon their knees in their hallowed vestments, holding up their hands to heaven, praying first of all for peace, next for victory of their own part, but to neither part a bloody victory. If their host get the upper hand, they run into the main battle and restrain their own men from slaying and cruelly pursuing their vanquished enemies. Which enemies, if they do but see them and speak to them, it is enough for the safeguard of their lives. And the touching of their clothes defendeth and saveth all their goods from ravine and spoil. This thing hath advanced them to so great worship and true majesty among all nations, that many times they have as well preserved their own citizens from the cruel force of their enemies, as they have their enemies from the furious rage of their own men. For it is well known, that when their own army hath reculed and in despair turned back and run away, their enemies fiercely pursuing with slaughter and spoil, then the priests coming between have stayed the murder, and parted both the hosts. So that peace hath been made and concluded between both parts upon equal and indifferent conditions. For there was never any nation, so fierce, so cruel and rude, but they had them in such reverence, that they counted their bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and unreverently touched.

They keep holy the first and the last day of every month and year, dividing the year into months, which they measure by the course of the moon, as they do the year by the course of the

sun. The first days they call in their language Lynemernes and the last Trapemernes, the which words may be interpreted, primifest and finifest, or else in our speech, first feast and last feast. Their churches be very gorgeous and not only of fine and curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewness of them was necessary) very wide and large, and able to receive a great company of people. But they be all somewhat dark. Howbeit that was not done through ignorance in building, but as they say, by the counsel of the priests. Because they thought that over much light doth disperse men's cogitations, whereas in dim and doubtful light they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion; which because it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kinds and fashions of it, though they be sundry and manifold, agree together in the honour of the divine nature, as going divers ways to one end; therefore nothing is seen nor heard in the churches, but that seemeth to agree indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to any several sect, that they execute at home in their own houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to any of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no image of any god is seen in the church, to the intent it may be free for every man to conceive God by their religion after what likeness and similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of God, but only Mithra, in the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine majesty whatsoever it be. No prayers be used but such as every man may boldly pronounce without the offending of any sect. They come therefore to the church the last day of every month and year, in the evening yet fasting, there to give thanks to God for that they have prosperously passed over the year or month, whereof that holy day is the last day. The next day they come to the church early in the morning, to pray to God that they may have good fortune and success all the new year or month which they do begin of that same holy day. But in the holy days that be the last days of the months and years, before they come to the church,

the wives fall down prostrate before their husbands' feet at home and the children before the feet of their parents, confessing and acknowledging themselves offenders either by some actual deed, or by omission of their duty, and desire pardon for their offence. Thus if any cloud of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblown, that they may be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable minds. For they be afraid to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they know themselves to bear any hatred or grudge towards any man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they have reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for fear of great vengeance and punishment for their offence. When they come thither, the men go into the right side of the church and the women into the left side. There they place themselves in such order, that all they which be of the male kind in every household sit before the goodman of the house, and they of the female kind before the goodwife. Thus it is foreseen that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abroad of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, lest children being joined together, they should pass over that time in childish wantonness, wherein they ought principally to conceive a religious and devout fear towards God, which is the chief and almost the only incitation to virtue. They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they think not that the merciful clemency of God hath delight in blood and slaughter, which hath given life to beasts to the intent they should live. They burn frankincense and other sweet savours, and light also a great number of wax candles and tapers, not supposing this gear to be anything available to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men. But this unhurtful and harmless kind of worship pleased them. And by these sweet savours and lights, and other such ceremonies men feel themselves secretly lifted up and encouraged to devotion with more willing and fervent hearts. The people weareth in the church white apparel. The

priest is clothed in changeable colours. Which in workmanship be excellent, but in stuff not very precious. For their vestments be neither embroidered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so finely and cunningly with divers feathers of fowls, that the estimation of no costly stuff is able to countervail the price of the work. Furthermore in these birds' feathers, and in the due order of them, which is observed in their setting, they say, is contained certain divine mysteries. The interpretation whereof known, which is diligently taught by the priests, they be put in remembrance of the bountiful benefits of God toward them; and of the love and honour which of their behalf is due to God; and also of their duties one toward another. When the priest first cometh out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall down incontinent every one reverently to the ground, with so still silence on every part, that the very fashion of the thing striketh into them a certain fear of God, as though he were there personally present. When they have lain a little space on the ground, the priest giveth them a sign for to rise. Then they sing praises unto God, which they intermix with instruments of music, for the most part of other fashions than these that we use in this part of the world. And like as some of ours be much sweeter than theirs, so some of theirs do far pass ours. But in one thing doubtless they go exceeding far beyond us. For all their music, both that they play upon instruments, and that they sing with man's voice doth so resemble and express natural affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thing, that whether it be a prayer, or else a ditty of gladness, of patience, of trouble, of mourning, or of anger; the fashion of the melody doth so represent the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfully move, stir, pierce and inflame the hearers' minds. At the last the people and the priest together rehearse solemn prayers in words, expressly pronounced, so made that every man may privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all. In these prayers every man recogniseth and acknowledgeth God to be his maker, his governor and the principal cause of all other goodness, thank-

ing him for so many benefits received at his hand. But especially that through the favour of God he hath chanced into that public weal, which is most happy and wealthy, and hath chosen that religion, which he hopeth to be most true. In the which thing if he do anything err, or if there be any other better than either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth him that he will of his goodness let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready to follow what way soever he will lead him. But if this form and fashion of a commonwealth be best, and his own religion most true and perfect, then he desireth God to give him a constant steadfastness in the same, and to bring all other people to the same order of living and to the same opinion of God, unless there be anything that in this diversity of religions doth delight his unsearchable pleasure. To be short, he prayeth him that after his death he may come to him. But how soon or late that he dare not assign or determine. Howbeit, if it might stand with his majesty's pleasure, he would be much gladder to die a painful death and so to go to God, than by long living in worldly prosperity to be away from him. When this prayer is said they fall down to the ground again and a little after they rise up and go to dinner. And the residue of the day they pass over in plays and exercise of chivalry.

Now I have declared and described unto you, as truly as I could the form and order of that commonwealth, which verily in my judgment is not only the best, but also that which alone of good right may claim and take upon it the name of a commonwealth or public weal. For in other places they speak still of the commonwealth, but every man procureth his own private gain. Here where nothing is private, the common affairs be earnestly looked upon. And truly on both parts they have good cause so to do as they do. For in other countries who knoweth not that he shall starve for hunger, unless he make some several provision for himself, though the commonwealth flourish never so much in riches? And therefore he is compelled even of very necessity to have regard to himself, rather than to the people, that is to say, to other. Contrariwise there, where all things be common to

every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lack anything necessary for his private uses, so that the common storehouses and barns be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a niggardly sort, neither there is any poor man or beggar. And though no man have anything, yet every man is rich. For what can be more rich, than to live joyfully and merrily, without all grief and pensiveness; not caring for his own living, nor vexed or troubled with his wife's importunate complaints, nor dreading poverty to his son, nor sorrowing for his daughter's dowry? Yea they take no care at all for the living and wealth of themselves and all theirs, of their wives, their children, their nephews, their children's children, and all the succession that ever shall follow in their posterity. And yet besides this there is no less provision for them that were once labourers and be now weak and impotent, than for them that do now labour and take pain. Here now would I see, if any man dare be so bold as to compare with this equity, the justice of other nations; among whom, I forsake God, if I can find any sign or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this, that a rich goldsmith, or an usurer, or to be short, any of them which either do nothing at all, or else that which they do is such that it is not very necessary to the commonwealth, should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness, or by unnecessary business; when in the meantime poor labourers, carters, ironsmiths, carpenters and ploughmen, by so great and continual toil, as drawing and bearing beasts be scant able to sustain, and again so necessary toil, that without it no commonwealth were able to continue and endure one year, should yet get so hard and poor a living, and live so wretched and miserable a life, that the state and condition of the labouring beasts may seem much better and wealthier? For they be not put to so continual labour, nor their living is not much worse, yea to them much pleasanter, taking no thought in the mean season for the time to come. But these silly poor wretches be presently tormented with barren and unfruitful labour. And the remembrance of their poor indigent and beggarly old age killeth them up. For their

daily wages is so little, that it will not suffice for the same day, much less it yieldeth any overplus, that may daily be laid up for the relief of old age. Is not this an unjust and an unkind public weal, which giveth great fees and rewards to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmiths, and to such other, which be either idle persons, or else only flatterers, and devisers of vain pleasures; and of the contrary part maketh no gentle provision for poor ploughmen, colliers, labourers, carters, ironsmiths, and carpenters: without whom no commonwealth can continue? But after it hath abused the labours of their lusty and flowering age, at the last when they be oppressed with old age and sickness, being needy, poor, and indigent of all things, then forgetting their so many painful watchings, not remembering their so many and so great benefits, recompenseth and acquitteth them most unkindly with miserable death. And yet besides this the rich men not only by private fraud, but also by common laws, do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor some part of their daily living. So whereas it seemed before unjust to recompense with unkindness their pains that have been beneficial to the public weal, now they have to this their wrong and unjust dealing (which is yet a much worse point) given the name of justice, yea and that by force of a law. Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths, which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the commonwealth. They invent and devise all means and crafts, first how to keep safely, without fear of losing, that they have unjustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the work and labour of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices, when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed under colour of the commonalty, that is to say, also of the poor people, then they be made laws. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their insatiable covetousness divided among themselves all those things, which would have sufficed all men, yet how far be they from the wealth and

felicity of the Utopian commonwealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, how great a heap of cares is cut away! How great an occasion of wickedness and mischief is plucked up by the roots! For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rapine, brawling, quarrelling, brabling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishments are rather revenged than refrained, do die when money dieth? And also that fear, grief, care, labours and watchings do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea poverty itself, which only seemed to lack money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanish away. And that you may perceive this more plainly, consider with yourselves some barren and unfruitful year, wherein many thousands of people have starved for hunger. I dare be bold to say, that in the end of that penury so much corn or grain might have been found in the rich men's barns, if they had been searched, as being divided among them whom famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at all should have felt that plague and penury. So easily might men get their living, if that same worthy princess, lady money, did not alone stop up the way between us and our living, which a God's name was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the way thereto should be opened. I am sure the rich men perceive this, nor they be not ignorant how much better it were to lack no necessary thing, than to abound with overmuch superfluity; to be rid out of innumerable cares and troubles, than to be besieged and encumbered with great riches. And I doubt not that either the respect of every man's private commodity, or else the authority of our saviour Christ (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodness could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) would have brought all the world long ago into the laws of this weal public, if it were not that one only beast, the princess and mother of all mischief, pride, doth withstand and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by her own commodities, but by the misery and incommodities of other; she would not by her good

will be made a goddess, if there were no wretches left, over whom she might, like a scornful lady, rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities might shine, whose poverty she might vex, torment and increase by gorgeously setting forth her riches. This hell-hound creepeth into men's hearts, and plucketh them back from entering the right path of life, and is so deeply rooted in men's breasts, that she cannot be plucked out. This form and fashion of a weal-public, which I would gladly wish unto all nations, I am glad yet that it hath chanced to the Utopians, which have followed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their commonwealth, as shall continue and last not only wealthily, but also, as far as man's wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For, seeing the chief causes of ambition and sedition with other vices be plucked up by the roots and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardy of domestical dissension, which alone hath cast under foot and brought to nought the well-fortified and strongly-defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concord remaineth, and wholesome laws be executed at home, the envy of all foreign princes be not able to shake or move the empire, though they have many times long ago gone about to do it, being evermore driven back.

Thus when Raphael had made an end of his tale, though many things came to my mind, which in the manner and laws of that people seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not only in the fashion of their chivalry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their laws, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances, that is to say, in the community of their life and living, without any occupying of money, by the which thing only all nobility, magnificence, worship, honour and majesty, the true ornaments and honours, as the common opinion is, of a commonwealth, utterly be overthrown and destroyed; yet because I knew that he was weary of talking, and was not sure whether he could abide that anything should be said against his mind; specially remembering that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be afraid lest they should seem not to be

wise enough, unless they could find some fault in other men's inventions; therefore I praising both their institutions and his communication, took him by the hand, and led him in to supper; saying that we would choose another time to weigh and examine the same matters, and to talk with him more at large therein. Which would God it might once come to pass. In the meantime, as I cannot agree and consent to all things that he said, being else without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldly matters exactly and profoundly experienced, so must I needs confess and grant that many things be in the Utopian weal public, which in our cities I may rather wish for, than hope after.

Thus endeth the afternoon's talk of Raphael Hythloday concerning the laws and institutions of the Island of Utopia.

To the Right Honourable Hieronymus Buslidius, Provost of Arienn, and Councillor to the Catholic King Charles, Peter Giles, Citizen of Antwerp, wisheth health and felicity.

To the Right Honourable Hieronymus Buslidius, Provost of Arienn, and Councillor to the Catholic King Charles, Peter Giles, Citizen of Antwerp, wisheth health and felicity.

THOMAS MORE the singular ornament of this our age, as you yourself (right honourable Buslidius) can witness, to whom he is perfectly well known, sent unto me this other day the Island of Utopia, to very few as yet known, but most worthy; which, as far excelling Plato's commonwealth, all people should be willing to know; specially of a man most eloquent so finely set forth, so cunningly painted out and so evidently subject to the eye, that as oft as I read it, methinketh that I see somewhat more, than when I heard Raphael Hythloday himself (for I was present at that talk as well as Master More) uttering and pronouncing his own words. Yea, though the same man, according to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appear, to report not things which he had learned of others only by hearsay, but which he had with his own eyes presently seen and thoroughly viewed, and wherein he had no small time been conversant and abiding; a man truly, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, much passing, yea even the very famous and renowned traveller Ulysses; and indeed such a one, as for the space of these eight hundred years past I think nature into the world brought not forth his like; in comparison of whom Vespucci may be thought to have seen nothing. Moreover, whereas we be wont more effectually and pithily to declare and express things that we have seen, than which we have but

only heard, there was besides that in this man a certain peculiar grace, and singular dexterity to describe and set forth a matter withal. Yet the selfsame things as oft as I behold and consider them drawn and painted out with Master More's pencil, I am therewith so moved, so delighted, so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime methink I am presently conversant, even in the island of Utopia. And I promise you, I can scant believe that Raphael himself by all that five years' space that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there so much, as here in Master More's description is to be seen and perceived. Which description with so many wonders, and miraculous things is replenished, that I stand in great doubt whereat first and chiefly to muse or marvel; whether at the excellence of his perfect and sure memory, which could well-nigh word by word rehearse so many things once only heard; or else at his singular prudence, who so well and wittily marked and bare away all the original causes and fountains (to the vulgar people commonly most unknown) whereof both issueth and springeth the mortal confusion and utter decay of a commonwealth, and also the advancement and wealthy state of the same may rise and grow; or else at the efficacy and pith of his words, which in so fine a Latin style, with such force of eloquence hath couched together and comprised so many and divers matters, specially being a man continually encumbered with so many busy and troublesome cares, both public and private, as he is. Howbeit all these things cause you little to marvel (right honourable Buslidius) for that you are familiarly and thoroughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost divine wit of the man. But now to proceed to other matters, I surely know nothing needful or requisite to be adjoined unto his writings, only a meter of four verses written in the Utopian tongue, which after Master More's departure Hythloday by chance showed me, that have I caused to be added thereto, with the alphabet of the same nation. For, as touching the situation of the island, that is to say, in what part of the world Utopia standeth, the ignorance and lack whereof not a little troubleth and grieveth Master More, indeed Raphael left not that unspoken of.

Howbeit with very few words he lightly touched it, incidently by the way passing it over, as meaning of likelihood to keep and reserve that to another place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certain evil and unlucky chance escaped us both. For when Raphael was speaking thereof, one of Master More's servants came to him and whispered in his ear. Wherefore I being then of purpose more earnestly addict to hear, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I think, a shipboard, coughed out so loud, that he took from my hearing certain of his words. But I will never stint nor rest, until I have got the full and exact knowledge hereof; insomuch that I will be able perfectly to instruct you, not only in the longitude or true meridian of the island, but also in the just latitude thereof, that is to say, in the sublevation or height of the pole in that region, if our friend Hythloday be in safety and alive. For we hear very uncertain news of him. Some report, that he died in his journey homeward. Some again affirm, that he returned into his country, but partly for that he could not away with the fashions of his country folk, and partly for that his mind and affection was altogether set and fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hath taken his voyage thitherward again. Now as touching this, that the name of this island is nowhere found among the old and ancient cosmographers, this doubt Hythloday himself very well dissolved. For why it is possible enough (quoth he) that the name, which it had in old time, was afterward changed, or else that they never had knowledge of this island; forasmuch as now in our time divers lands be found, which to the old geographers were unknown. Howbeit, what needeth it in this behalf to fortify the matter with arguments, seeing Master More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the book, indeed herein I both commend, and also acknowledge the man's modesty. Howbeit unto me it seemeth a work most unworthy to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abroad into the hands of men, yea, and under the title of your name to be published to the world; either because the singular endowments and qualities of Master More be to no man better known than to you, or

else because no man is more fit and meet, than you with good counsels to further and advance the commonwealth, wherein you have many years already continued and travailed with great glory and commendation, both of wisdom and knowledge, and also of integrity and uprightness. Thus, O liberal supporter of good learning, and flower of this our time, I bid you most heartily well to fare. At Antwerp 1516, the first day of November.

A meter of four verses in the Utopian tongue, briefly touching as well the strange beginning, as also the happy and wealthy continuance of the same commonwealth.

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Utopos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan foma gymnosophaon.
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.

Which verses the translator, according to his simple knowledge, and mean understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely Englished.

My king and conqueror Utopus by name,
A prince of much renown and immortal fame,
Hath made me an isle that erst no island was,
Full fraught with worldly wealth with pleasure and solace.
I one of all other without philosophy
Have shaped for man a philosophical city.
As mine I am nothing dangerous to impart,
So better to receive I am ready with all my heart.

A short meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius, poet-laureate, and nephew to Hythloday by his sister.

Me Utopie cleped Antiquity,
Void of haunt and herborough,
Now am I like to Plato's city,
Whose fame flieth the world through.

Yea like, or rather more likely
Plato's plat to excel and pass.
For what Plato's pen hath platted briefly
In naked words, as in a glass,
The same have I performed fully,
With laws, with men, and treasure fitly,
Wherefore not Utopie, but rather rightly
My name is Eutopie; a place of felicity.

Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.

Doth pleasure please? then place thee here and well thee rest,
Most pleasant pleasures thou shalt find here.
Doth profit ease? then here arrive, this isle is best.
For passing profits do here appear.
Doth both thee tempt, and wouldest thou gripe both gain and pleasure?
This isle is fraught with both bounteously.
To still thy greedy intent, reap here incomparable treasure
Both mind and tongue to garnish richly.
The hid wells and fountains both of vice and virtue
Thou hast them here subject unto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thanks where thanks be due
Give to Thomas More London's immortal glory.

Cornelius Graphy to the Reader.

Wilt thou know what wonders strange be in the land that late was found?
Wilt thou learn thy life to lead by divers ways that godly be?
Wilt thou of virtue and of vice understand the very ground?
Wilt thou see this wretched world, how full it is of vanity?
Then read and mark and bear in mind for thy behoof, as thou may best,
All things that in this present work, that worthy clerk Sir Thomas More,
With wit divine full learnedly, unto the world hath plain exprest,
In whom London well glory may, for wisdom and for godly lore.

The Printer to the Reader.

The Utopian alphabet, good reader, which in the above written epistle is promised, hereunto I have not now adjoined, because I have not as yet the true characters or forms of the Utopian letters. And no marvel, seeing it is a tongue to us much stranger than the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabic, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Cyprian, the Scythian, etc. Which tongues though they be nothing so strange among us, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we have not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to perform that which now I cannot, that is to say, to exhibit perfectly unto thee, the Utopian alphabet. In the meantime accept my good will. And so fare well. Imprinted at London in Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Lamb, by Abraham Vele. 1556.

THE PITIFUL LIFE OF KING EDWARD THE FIFTH.

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THE eternal God calling to his mercy the noble prince King Edward the Fourth of that name, Edward, his eldest son (Prince of Wales) began his reign the ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1483. And in the twenty-third year of Louis the Eleventh, then French King: Which young prince reigned a small space and little season over this realm, either in pleasure or liberty. For his uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester, within three months deprived him not only of his crown and regality, but also unnaturally bereft him of his natural life. And for the declaration by what crafty engine he first attempted his ungracious purpose, and by what false, colourable, and untrue allegations he set forth openly his intended enterprise, and finally by what shameful, cruel, and detestable act he performed the same; ye must first consider of whom he and his brother descended, their natures, conditions and inclinations, and then you shall easily perceive, that there could not be a more cruel tyrant appointed to achieve a more abominable enterprise.

Their father was Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, which began, not by war, but by law to challenge the crown of England, putting his claim in the Parliament, holden the thirtieth year of King Henry the Sixth, where either for right or for favour, his cause was so set forth and advanced, that the blood of the said King Henry, although he had a goodly son, was clearly abjected, and the crown of the realm (by authority of Parliament) entailed to the Duke of York and his heirs after the decease of the said King Henry the Sixth. But the Duke not intending so long to tarry, but minding under the pretext of

dissension grown and risen within the realm, and of covenants made in the Parliament, not kept but broken, to prevent the time and to take upon him the governance in King Henry's life, was by too much hardiness slain at the battle of Wakefield, leaving behind him three sons, Edward, George, and Richard.

All these three, as they were great estates of birth, so were they great and stately of stomach, greedy of promotions, and impatient partners of rule and authority. This Edward revenged his father's death, and deposed King Henry the Sixth, and attained the crown and sceptre of the realm.

George Duke of Clarence was a goodly and well-featured prince, in all things fortunate, if either his own ambition had not set him against his brother, or the envy of his enemies had not set his brother against him: for were it by the Queen or the nobles of her blood, which highly maligned the King's kindred (as women commonly, not of malice, but of nature, hate such as their husbands love), or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himself, intending to be King, at the least-wise, heinous treason was laid to his charge, and finally were he in fault, or were he faultless, attainted was he by Parliament, and judged to death; and thereupon hastily drowned in a butt of Malmsey within the Tower of London. Whose death King Edward (although he commanded it) when he wist it was done, piteously he bewailed and sorrowfully repented it.

Richard Duke of Gloucester, the third son (of which I must most entreat) was in wit and courage equal with the other, but in beauty and lineaments of nature far underneath both, for he was little of stature, evil featured of limbs, crook-backed, the left shoulder much higher than the right, hard favoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and among common persons a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrathful, and envious; and as it is reported, his mother the Duchess had much ado in travail, that she could not be delivered of him uncut, and that he came into the world the feet forward, as men be born outward, and as the fame ran, not untoothed: whether that men of hatred reported above the truth, or that nature changed his course in his beginning, which in his life committed

many things unnaturally, this I leave to God's judgment. He was no evil captain in war, as to the which his disposition was more inclined, than to peace. Sundry victories he had, and some overthrows, but never for default of his own person, either for lack of hardiness or politic order. Free he was of his expenses, and somewhat above his power liberal; with large gifts he gat him unsteadfast friendship: for which cause he was fain to borrow, pill and extort in other places, which gat him steadfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deep dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar where he inwardly hated, not letting to kiss whom he thought to kill, spiteful and cruel, not always for ill-will, but oftener for ambition and to serve his purpose; friend and foe were all indifferent; where his advantage grew, he spared no man's death whose life withstood his purpose. He slew in the Tower King Henry the Sixth, saying, now is there no heir male of King Edward the Third, but we of the house of York: which murder was done without King Edward's assent, which would have appointed that butcherly office to some other rather than to his own brother.

Some wise men also think, that his design lacked not in helping forth his own brother of Clarence to his death, which thing in all appearance he resisted, although he inwardly minded it. And the cause thereof was, as men noting his doings and proceedings did mark, because that he long in King Edward's time thought to obtain the crown, in case that the King, his brother (whose life he looked that ill diet would soon shorten), should happen to decease, as he did indeed, his children being young. And then if the Duke of Clarence had lived, his intended purpose had been far hindered: for if the Duke of Clarence had kept himself true to his nephew the young King, every one of these casts had been a trump in the Duke of Gloucester's way: but when he was sure that his brother of Clarence was dead, then he knew that he might work without that danger. But of these points there is no certainty, and whosoever divineth or conjectureth, may as well aim too far as too short: but this

conjecture afterward took place (as few do) as you shall perceive hereafter.

But before I declare to you how this Richard Duke of Gloucester began his mischievous imagined and intended enterprise as apparently shall be opened, I must a little put you in remembrance of a loving and charitable act, no less profitable than pleasing to the whole commonalty, if it had been so inwardly thought as it was outwardly dissembled, which King Edward did, lying on his death-bed, not long before he died. For in his life, although that the division amongst his friends somewhat grieved and vexed him, yet in his health he less regarded and took heed to it, by reason that he thought that he was able in all things to rule both parties, were they never so obstinate. But in his last sickness (which continued longer than false and fantastical tales have untruly and falsely surmised, as I myself that wrote this pamphlet truly knew) when he perceived his natural strength was gone, and hoped little of recovery by the arts of all his physicians, which he perceived only to prolong his life; then he began to consider the youth of his children, howbeit he nothing less mistrusted than that that happened, yet he wisely foreseeing and considering that many harms might ensue by the debate of his nobles, while the youth of his children should lack discretion and good counsel of their friends (for he knew well that every part would work for their own commodity, and rather by pleasant advice to win themselves favour, than by profitable advertisement to do the children good): wherefore lying on his death-bed at Westminster, he called to him such lords as then were about him, whom he knew to be at variance, especially the Lord Marquis Dorset, son to the Queen, and the Lord Hastings, against whom the Queen especially grudged for the favour that the King bare him, and also she thought him familiar with the King in wanton company: her kin bare him envy, as well for that the King made him captain of Calais, which office the Lord Rivers, brother to the Queen, claimed of the King by his former promise, as of divers other gifts which he received that they looked for. And when these

lords with divers others of both parties were come unto the King's presence, he caused himself to be raised up with pillows, and as I can guess, said thus or much like in sentence to them—

"My Lords, my dear kinsmen and allies, in what plight I now lie you see, and I perfectly feel, by the which I look the less while to live with you, therefore the more deeply I am moved to care in what case I leave you: for such as I leave you such are my children like to find you, which if they should find at variance (as God forbid) they themselves might hap to fall at war, ere their discretion would serve to set you at peace. You see their youth, of which I reckon the only surety to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not all you to love them, if each of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness might hap to suffice, but childhood must be maintained by men's authority, and slippery youth underpropped with elder counsel; which they can never have except you give it, nor you give it except you agree; for where each laboureth to break that the other maketh and for hatred each impugneth other's counsel, there must needs be a long tract, ere any good conclusion can issue. And further, while each party laboureth to be chief flatterer, adulation shall then have more place, than plain and faithful advice, of which must needs ensue the evil bringing up of the prince, whose mind in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to mischief and riot, and draw down this noble realm to ruin. But if grace turn him to wisdom (which God send him) then they which by evil means pleased him best, shall after fall farthest out of favour, so that at the length evil drifts drive to naught, and good plain ways prosper and flourish. Great variance hath been between you, not always for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended and misconstrued, hath been turned to the worst, or a small displeasure done to you, either by your own affection, or by instigation of evil tongues, hath been sorely aggravated. But this I know well, you had never so great cause of hatred, as you have of love, because we be all men, and that we be all Christian men. This I will leave to preachers to tell you, and yet I know not whether any

preacher's words ought more to move you, than I that am going by-and-by to the place that they all preach of. But this shall I desire of you to remember, that the one part of you being of my blood, the other of my allies, and each of you with other either of kindred or affinity, which is the very spiritual affinity and kindred, as all partakers of the sacraments of Christ's church. The weight of which consanguinity if we did bear, as would to God we did, then should we more be moved to spiritual than to fleshly consanguinity. Our Lord forbid that you love the worse together, for the selfsame cause, that you ought to love the better, and yet that happeneth; for nowhere find we so deadly debate as amongst them which by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a serpent is ambition and desire of vainglory and sovereignty, while amongst estates when he is once entered he creepeth forth so far, till with division and variance he turneth all to mischief; first longing to be next to the best, afterward equal with the best, and at the last chief and above the best. Of which immoderate appetite of worship, and the debate and dissension that grew thereby, what loss, what sorrow, what trouble hath within these few years grown within this realm, I pray God as well to forget as we well remember; which thing if I could as well have foreseen, as I have with my more pain than pleasure proved, by God his blessed Lady (that was his common oath) I would never have won the courtesies of men's knees with the loss of so many heads. But since things passed cannot be called again, much more ought we to beware, by what occasion we have taken so great hurt before, that we presently fall not into that occasion again. Now be these griefs passed, and all is quiet, thanked be God, and likely well to prosper in wealthful peace, under your cousins my children, if God send them life, and you love and concord. Of which two things, the less loss were they, by whom although God did his pleasure, yet should this realm always find kings, and peradventure as good kings as they. But if you amongst yourselves in a child's reign fall at debate, many a good man shall innocently perish, and he and you also, ere this land find peace and quiet again: wherefore in these last words that ever I look

to speak to you, I exhort and require you all, for the love that you have borne to me, and for the love that I have borne to you, and for the love that our Lord beareth to us all: From this time forward, all griefs forgotten, each of you love other, which I verily trust you will, if you in anything regard God or your King's affinity or kindred, this realm, your own country, or your own safety and wealth." And therewithal, the King for faintness no longer enduring to sit up, laid him down on his right side, his face toward them. And there was none present that could forbear weeping, but the lords comforted him with as good words as they could, and answered for the time, as they thought should stand with his pleasure. And there in his presence (as by their words appeared) each forgave other, and joined their hands together, when, as it after appeared by their deeds, their hearts were far asunder. And so within a few days, this noble Prince deceased at Westminster, the ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord 1483. After that he had reigned twenty-two years, one month, and eight days, and was with great funeral pomp conveyed to Windsor, leaving behind him two sons, Edward the Prince (of whom this story entreateth), a child of thirteen years of age, Richard Duke of York two years younger than the Prince, and five daughters, Elizabeth, which by God's grace was married to King Henry the Seventh and mother to King Henry the Eighth, Cicely, not so fortunate as fair, first wedded to the Viscount Wells, after to one Kyne, and lived not in great wealth, Bridget professed herself a close nun at Sion, Anne was married to Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Duke of Norfolk, Katherine the youngest daughter was married to Lord William Courtney, son to the Earl of Devonshire, which long time tossed in either fortune, some time in wealth after in adversity, till the benignity of her nephew King Henry the Eighth brought her into a sure estate, according to her degree and progeny.

This King Edward was such a Prince of governance and behaviour in the time of peace (for in the time of war each must be other's enemy) that there was never any King in this realm attaining the crown by war and battle, so heartily

beloved with the more substance of his people, nor he himself so specially favoured in any part of his life, as at the time of his death; which favour and affection yet after his death, by the cruelty, mischief, and trouble of the tempestuous world that followed, highly towards him more increased. At such time as he died, the displeasure of those that bare him a grudge for King Henry the Sixth his sake (whom he deposed) was well assuaged, and in effect quenched within the space of twenty-two years, which is a great part of a man's life, and some were reconciled and grown into his favour, of the which he was never strange, when it was with true heart demanded.

He was goodly of personage and princely to behold, of heart courageous, politic in council, and in adversity nothing abashed, in prosperity rather joyful than proud, in peace just and merciful, in war sharp and fierce, in the field bold and hardy, and yet nevertheless no farther than reason and policy would adventure, whose wars whosoever circumspectly and advisedly considereth, he shall no less commend his wisdom and policy where he avoided them, than his manhood where he vanquished them. He was of visage full-faced and lovely, of body mighty, strong and clean made; with over liberal and wanton diet he waxed something corpulent and burly, but nevertheless not uncomely. He was in youth greatly given to fleshly wantonness, from the which health of body in great prosperity and fortune, without an especial grace hardly refraineth. This fault little grieved his people; for neither could any one man's pleasure stretch or extend to the displeasure of very many, nor a multitude be grieved by a private man's fantasy or voluptuousness, when it was done without violence. And in his latter days he left all wild dalliance, and fell to gravity, so that he brought his realm into a wealthy and prosperous estate, all fear of outward enemies were clearly extinguished, and no war was in his hand, nor none toward, but such as no man looked for. The people were toward their Prince not in a constrained fear; but in a true, loving, and wilful obedience among themselves, and the Commons were in good peace. The Lords whom he knew at variance, he on his death-bed (as he thought)

brought to good concord, love, and amity. And a little before his death, he had left gathering of money of his subjects, which is the only thing that draweth the hearts of Englishmen from their kings and princes; nor nothing he enterprised or took in hand, by the which he should be driven thereunto. For his tribute out of France he had a little before recovered and obtained. And the year before he died, he recovered again the town of Berwick against the King of Scots. And albeit that all the time of his reign, he was so benign, courteous, and familiar, that no part of his virtues was esteemed more than those high humilities. Yet that condition in the end of his last days decayed not, in the which many princes by a long-continued sovereignty, decline to a proud port, and behaviour from their conditions accustomed at their beginning. Yet loveliness and gentleness so far forth in him increased, that the summer before he died, he being at Havering at the Bower, sent for the Mayor of London thither, only to hunt and make pastime, where he made them not so hearty but so familiar and friendly cheer and sent also to their wives such plenty of venison that no one thing in many days before gat him either more hearts or more hearty favour amongst the common people, which oftentimes more esteem and take for great kindness a little courtesy, than a great profit or benefit.

And so this noble Prince deceased, as you have heard, in that time his life was most desired, and when his people most desired to keep him. Which love of his people, and their entire affection toward him, had been to his noble children (having in themselves also as many gifts of nature, as many princely virtues, as much good towardness as their age could receive), a marvellous fortress and a sure armour, if the division and dissension of their friends had not unarmed them, and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of sovereignty provoked him to their destruction, which if either kin or kindness had holden place, must needs have been their defence. For Richard Gloucester, by nature their uncle, by office their protector, to their father greatly beholden, and to them by oath and allegiance bounden, all the bonds broken and violated

which bind man and man together, without any respect of God or the world, unnaturally contrived to bereave them, not only of their dignity and pre-eminence, but also of their natural lives and worldly felicity. And first to show you, that by conjecture he pretended this thing in his brother's life, ye shall understand for a truth that the same night that King Edward died, one called Mistelbrooke, long ere the day sprung, came to the house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcross Street without Cripple Gate of London, and when he was with hasty rapping quickly let in, the said Mistelbrooke showed unto Pottier that King Edward was that night deceased. "By my troth," quoth Pottier, "then will my master the Duke of Gloucester be King, and that I warrant thee." What cause he had so to think, hard it is to say, whether he being his servant, knew any such thing intended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof, but of all likelihood he spake it not of nought.

But now to return to the true history, were it that the Duke of Gloucester had of old fore practised this conclusion, or was beforetime moved thereunto, and put in hope by the tender age of the young Princes his nephews as opportunity and likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that that he never intended. Certain it is, that he being in the North parts, for the good governance of the country, being advertised of his brother's death, contrived the destruction of his nephews, with the usurpation of the Royal Dignity and Crown. And forasmuch as he well wist, and had hope to maintain a long-continued grudge and heartburning between the Queen's kindred and the King's blood, either part envying others' authority, he now thought, as it was indeed, a furtherly beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground and a situation of his unnatural building, if he might under the pretence of revenging of old displeasures, abuse the ignorance and anger of the one party, to the destruction of the other, and then to win to his purpose as many as he could: and such as could not be won, might be lost ere they looked for it. But of one thing he was certain, that if his intent were once perceived, he should have made peace between

both parties with his own blood: but all his intent he kept secret till he knew his friends; of the which Henry the Duke of Buckingham was the first that sent to him after his brother's death a trusty servant of his, called Percival, to the city of York, where the Duke of Gloucester kept the King his brothers' funerals. This Percival came to John Ward a secret chamberer to the Duke of Gloucester, desiring that he in close and covert manner might speak with the Duke his master, whereupon in the dead of the night, the Duke sent for Percival (all other being avoided), which showed to the Duke of Gloucester that the Duke of Buckingham, his master in this new world would take such part as he would, and would further wait upon him with a thousand good fellows if need were. The Duke sent back the messenger with great thanks, and divers privy instructions by mouth, which Percival did so much by his travel, that he came to the Duke of Buckingham his master into the Marches of Wales, and presently after with new instructions met with the Duke of Gloucester at Nottingham, which was come out of the North country with many knights and gentlemen, to the number of six hundred horse and more, in his journey towards London. And after secret meeting and communication had between him and the Duke of Gloucester, he returned with such speed that he brought the Duke of Buckingham his master to meet with the Duke of Gloucester not far from Northampton, with three hundred horses, and so they two came together to Northampton, where they first began their unhappy enterprise, and so the Duke of Buckingham continued still with the Duke of Gloucester till he was crowned King, as ye shall plainly perceive hereafter. The young King, at the death of his father, kept household at Ludlow, for his father had sent him thither for justice to be done in the Marches of Wales, to the end, that by the authority of his presence the wild Welshmen and evil-disposed persons should refrain from their accustomed murders and outrages. The governance of this young Prince was committed to Lord Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, and Lord Scales, brother to the Queen, a wise, hardy, and honourable personage, as valiant of hands, as politic in

counsel, and with him were associate others of the same party, and in effect every one as he was near of kin unto the Queen, so was he planted next about the Prince. That drift by the Queen seemed to be devised, whereby her blood might of right in tender youth be so planted in the Prince's favour, that afterward it should hardly be eradicated out of the same. The Duke of Gloucester turned all this to their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of his unhappy building. For whomsoever he perceived to be at variance with them, or to bear toward himself any favour, he break unto them, some by mouth, some by writing, and secret messengers, that it was neither reason, nor yet to be suffered, that the young King, their master and kinsman, should be in the hands and custody of his mother's kindred, sequested in manner from their company and attendance, of which every one owed him as faithful service as they, and many of them of far more honourable part of kin than his mother's side, "whose blood," quoth the Duke of Gloucester, "saving the King's pleasure, was far unmeet to be matched with his, which now to be removed from the King, and the least noble to be left about him, is," quoth he, "neither honourable to his Majesty, nor to us, and also to him less surety, to have his nobles and mightiest of his friends from him, and to us all no little danger to suffer, and especially our ill willers to grow into great authority with the King in youth, namely, which is light of belief and soon persuaded.

"Ye remember that King Edward himself, albeit he was both of age and discretion, yet was he ruled in many things by that faction more than stood with his honour, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except only the immoderate advancement of themselves, which whether they thirsted sore after their own weal or no, it were hard I think to guess. And if some folks' friendship had not holden better place with the King, than any respect of kindred, they might, peradventure, easily have trapped and brought to confusion some of us ere this; and why not as easily as they have done others, or this as near of the blood royal, but our Lord hath wrought his will,

and thanked be his grace, that peril is past: howbeit, as great is growing, if we suffer this young King in his enemies' hands, which without his witting might abuse the name of his commandment to any of our undoing: which things, God and our good provision forbid: of which good provision, none of us have anything the less need for the late atonement made, in which the King's pleasure had more place than the parties' hearts or wills, nor none of us is so unwise, or so much overseen, as to trust a new friend made of an old foe, or to think that any only kindness so suddenly contracted in an hour, continued scantily yet a fortnight, should be deeper set in our stomachs than a long accustomed malice many years rooted."

With these persuasions and writings, the Duke of Gloucester set on fire them which were easy to kindle, and especially two, Henry, Duke of Buckingham, and William, Lord Hastings, and Lord Chamberlain, both men of honour and of great power, the one by long succession from his ancestors, the other by his offices and the King's favour. These two not bearing each to other so much love, as hatred both to the Queen's blood, accorded together with the Duke of Gloucester, that they would remove from the King all his mother's friends, under the name of their enemies.

Whereupon the Duke of Gloucester, being advertised that the lords about the King intended to bring him to London, to his coronation, accompanied with such a number of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to pass, without the assembling and gathering of people, and in manner of open war, whereof the end, he knew, was doubtful, and in the which the King being on the other side, his part should have the name and face of rebellion.

He secretly, therefore, by divers means, caused the Queen to be persuaded, that it was neither need, and should also be dangerous for the King to come up so strong; for as now, every lord loved other, and no other thing studied for, but the triumph of his coronation, and honour of the King. And if the lords about the King should assemble in the King's name, much people, they should give the lords betwixt whom and them,

there had been some time debate, an occasion to fear and suspect, lest they should gather this people not for the King's safeguard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, having more regard to their old variance, than to their new atonement; for the which cause, they on the other part might assemble men also for their defence, whose powers she knew well stretched far; and thus should all the realm fall in an uproar, and of the mischief that thereof should ensue (which was likely to be not a little) the most harm was like to fall where she least would, and then all the world would put her and her kindred in the blame; saying, that they had unwisely and untruly broken the amity and peace, which the King her husband had so prudently made between her kindred and his, which amity his kin had always observed.

The Queen, being thus persuaded, sent word to the King and to her brother, that there was no cause nor need to assemble any people, and also the Duke of Gloucester and other lords of his side, wrote unto the King so reverently, and to the Queen's friends there so lovingly, that they nothing earthly mistrusting, brought the King toward London with a sober company in great haste (but not in good speed) till he came to Northampton, and from thence he removed to Stony Stratford. On which day, the two Dukes and their train came to Northampton, feigning that Stony Stratford could not lodge them all; where they found the Earl Rivers, intending the next morning to have followed the King, and to be with him early in the morning. So that night, the Duke made to the Earl Rivers friendly cheer, but as soon as they were departed, very familiar, with great courtesy in open sight, and the Earl Rivers lodged, the two Dukes with a few of their privy friends fell to council, wherein they spent a great part of the night, and in the dawning of the day, they sent about privily to their servants in their lodgings, to haste to horseback, for their lords were in manner ready to ride, whereupon all their servants were ready ere the Lord Rivers' servants were awake. Now had the Dukes taken the keys of the inn into their possession, so that none should issue out without their consent. And over this, in the highway

towards Stony Stratford, they set certain of their folks that should cause and compel to return again, all persons that were passing from Northampton to Stony Stratford, saying that the Dukes themselves would be the first that should come to the King from Northampton: thus they bare folks on hand. But when the Earl Rivers understood the gates closed, and the ways on every side beset, neither his servants, neither himself suffered to go out, perceiving so great a thing without his knowledge, not begun for naught, comparing this present doing with the last night's cheer, in so few hours so great a change, marvellously misliked it. Howbeit, since he could not get away, he determined not to keep himself close, lest he should seem to hide himself for some secret fear of his own fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himself; wherefore, on the surety of his own conscience he determined to go to them and to inquire what this matter might mean. Whom as soon as they saw, they began to quarrel with him, affirming that he intended to set distance between the King and them, to bring them to confusion, which should not lie in his power; and when he began, as he was an eloquent and well-spoken man, in goodly wise to excuse himself, they would not hear his answer, but took him by force and put him in ward. And then they mounted on horseback, and came in haste to Stony Stratford, where the King was going to on horseback, because he would leave the lodging for them, for it was too strait for both the companies. And when they came to his presence they alighted and their company about them, and on their knees saluted him, and he them gently received, nothing earthly knowing nor mistrusting as yet. The Duke of Buckingham said aloud, "On afore Gentlemen, and yeomen keep your rooms," and therewith in the King's presence they picked a quarrel to the Lord Richard Grey, the Queen's son, and brother to the Lord Marquis, and half-brother to the King, saying, that he, and the Marquis his brother, and the Lord Rivers, his uncle, had compassed to rule the King and the realm, and set variance between the estates, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realm. And toward the accomplishment of the same,

they said the Lord Marquis had entered into the Tower of London, and thence had taken out treasure, and sent men to the sea, which things these Dukes knew well were done for a good purpose, and as very necessary, appointed by the whole council at London, but somewhat they must say. Unto the which words the King answered, "What my brother Marquis hath done, I cannot say, but in good faith, I dare well answer for my uncle Rivers, and my brother here, that they be innocent of such matters." "Yea, my Liege," quoth the Duke of Buckingham, "they have kept the dealing of these matters far from the knowledge of your Good Grace." And forthwith they arrested the Lord Richard and Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, knights, in the King's presence, and brought the King and all back to Northampton, where they took farther counsel in their affairs. And there they sent from the King whom it pleased them, and set about him such servants as better pleased them than him. At which dealing he wept, and was not content, but it booted not. And at dinner, the Duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his own table to the Lord Rivers, praying him to be of good cheer, and all should be well. He thanked him and prayed the messenger to bear it to his nephew the Lord Richard with like words, whom he knew to have need of comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange, but he himself had been always inured therewith, and therefore could bear it the better. But for all this message, the Duke of Gloucester sent the Lord Rivers, the Lord Richard, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, into the North Parts into divers prisons, but at last, all came to Pomfret, where they all four were beheaded without judgment.

In this manner as you have heard, the Duke of Gloucester took on him the governance of the young king, whom with much reverence he conveyed towards London. These tidings came hastily to the Queen before midnight, by a very sore report, that the King her son was taken, and that her brother and her other son, and other of her friends were arrested and sent, no man knew whither. With this heavy tidings the Queen bewailed her child's ruin, her friends' mischance, and

her own misfortune, cursing the time that ever she was persuaded to leave the gathering of people to bring up the King with a great power, but that was passed, and therefore now she took her younger son the Duke of York, and her daughter; and went out of the Palace of Westminster into the Sanctuary, and there lodged in the Abbot's place, and she, and all her children, and company were registered for sanctuary persons. The same night there came to Dr. Rotherham, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor, a messenger from the Lord Chamberlain to York Place beside Westminster; the messenger was brought to the bishop's bedside and declared to him that the Dukes were gone back with the young King to Northampton, and declared further that the Lord Hastings his master sent him word, that he should fear nothing, for all should be well. "Well," quoth the Archbishop, "be it as well as it will, it will never be as well as we have seen it," and then the messenger departed. Whereupon the bishop called up all his servants and took with him the great seal, and came before day to the Queen, about whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste, business, conveyance and carriage of her stuff into Sanctuary; every man was busy to carry, bear, and convey stuff, chests and fardels, no man was unoccupied, and some carried more than they were commanded to another place.

The Queen sat alone below on the rushes all desolate and dismayed, whom the Archbishop comforted in the best manner that he could, showing her that the matter was nothing so sure as she took it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of fear by the message sent to him from the Lord Hastings. "Woe worth him," quoth the Queen, "for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my blood." "Madam," quoth he, "be of good comfort and I assure you, if they crown any other king than your son, whom they now have, we shall on the morrow crown his brother, whom you have here with you. And here is the great seal, which in like wise as your noble husband delivered it to me, so I deliver it to you, to the use of your son," and therewith delivered her the great seal, and departed home in the dawning of the day. And when he opened his windows

and looked on the Thames, he might see the river full of boats, of the Duke of Gloucester his servants watching, that no person should go to Sanctuary, nor none should pass unsearched.

Then was there great rumour and commotion in the City, and in other places, the people diversely divined upon this dealing. And divers lords, knights and gentlemen, either for favour of the Queen, or for fear of themselves, assembled companies, and went flocking together in harness. And many also for that they recounted this demeanour attempted, not so specially against other lords, as against the King himself, in disturbance of his coronation, therefore they assembled by-and-by together, to commune of this matter at London. The Archbishop of York, fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to over much lightness, that he so suddenly had yielded up the great seal to the Queen, to whom the custody thereof nothing appertained without especial commandment of the King, secretly sent for the seal again, and brought it with him, after the accustomed manner, to meet with the Lords.

At this meeting the Lord Hastings, whose truth toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, persuaded the Lords to believe, that the Duke of Gloucester was faithful and sure towards his prince, and that the Lord Rivers, the Lord Richard, and other Knights apprehended, were for matters attempted by them against the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, put under arrest for their surety, and not for the King's danger, and that they were also in safeguard, there to remain, till the matter were (not by the Dukes only) but also by all the other Lords of the King's Council indifferently examined, and by their discretions ordered, and either judged or appeased. And one thing he advised them to beware of, that they judged not the matter too far forth, ere they knew the truth, nor turning their private grudges into the common hurt, irritating and provoking men into anger, and disturbing the King's coronation, toward which the Dukes were coming, for that they might peradventure bring the matter so far out of joint that it should never be brought in frame again, which if it should hap as it were likely to come to a field, though

all parties were in all other things equal, yet should the authority be on that side where the King is himself; with these persuasions of the Lord Hastings, whereof part he himself believed, and of part he knew well the contrary, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But especially, because the Dukes of Buckingham and Gloucester were so near, and came on so shortly with the King, in no other manner, nor no other voice or semblance than to his coronation, causing the same to be blown about, that such persons as were apprehended, had contrived the destruction of the Dukes of Gloucester and of Buckingham, and other of the noble blood of this realm, to the intent that they alone would rule and govern the King. And for the colour thereof, such of the Duke's servants as rode with the carts of their stuff which was taken, among the which stuffs, no marvel though some were harness, which at the breaking up of such an household must be brought away or cast away, they showed to the people, and as they went, said, "Lo, here be the barrels of harness that these traitors had privily conveyed in their carriages to destroy the noble lords withal." This device (although it made the matter to wise men more unlikely, well perceiving that the intenders of such a purpose, would rather have had their harness on their backs, than to have bound them up in barrels) yet much part of the common people were therewith right well satisfied.

When the King approached to near the City, Edmund Shaw, Goldsmith, then Mayor of the City, with the Aldermen and Sheriffs in scarlet, and five hundred commoners in violet, received his Grace, reverently at Hornsey Park, and so conveyed him to the City, where he entered the fourth day of May, in the first and last year of his reign, and was lodged in the Bishop of London's Palace; but the Duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reverently, saying to all men as he rode, "Behold your Prince and Sovereign Lord," and made such semblance of lowliness to his Prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in so late before, he was suddenly fallen in so great trust, that at the council next assembled,

he was made the only chief ruler, and thought most meet to be Protector of the King and his realm; so that, were it destiny, or were it folly, the lamb was betaken to the wolf to keep. At which council the Archbishop of York was sore blamed for delivering the great seal to the Queen, and the seal taken from him, and delivered to Dr. John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and divers lords and knights were appointed to divers rooms: the Lord Chamberlain and some other kept the rooms that they were in before, but not many.

Now were it so that the Protector (which always you must take for the Duke of Gloucester) sore thirsted for the achieving of his intended enterprise, and thought every day a [illegible] till it were performed, yet durst he no farther attempt, so [illegible] as he had but half his prey in his hand, well witting that [illegible] deposed the one brother, all the realm would fall to the [illegible] if he remained either in sanctuary, or should haply be sh[illegible] conveyed to his father's liberty. Wherefore incontinent at[illegible] next meeting of the Lords in Council, he propounded to t[illegible] that it was an heinous thing of the Queen, and proceedi[illegible] great malice toward the King's Councillors, that she s[illegible] keep the King's brother in sanctuary, from him whose s[illegible] pleasure and comfort were to have his brother with hi[illegible] that to be done by her to no other intent, but to bring [illegible] Lords in an obloquy and murmur of the people, as thoug[illegible] were not to be trusted with the King's brother, which[illegible] were by the whole assent of the nobles of the realm, ap[illegible] as the King's near friends, to the tuition of his royal [illegible] "the prosperity whereof" (quoth he) "standeth not a[illegible] keeping from enemies and evil diet, but partly also in rec[illegible] and moderate pleasure, which he cannot take in his [illegible] youth in the company of old and ancient persons, but [illegible] familiar conversation of those that be not far under, [illegible] above his age, and nevertheless, of estate conven[illegible] accompany his Majesty, wherefore with whom rather t[illegible] his own brother? And if any man think this cons[illegible] light (I think no man so thinketh that loveth the King[illegible]

consider, that sometimes without small things greater cannot stand, and verily it redoundeth greatly to the dishonour of the King's Highness, and of all us that be about his Grace, to have it come in any man's mouth, not in this realm only, but also in other lands (as evil winds walk far) that the King's brother should be fain to keep the Sanctuary. For every man will judge, that no man will so do for naught, and such opinions fastened in men's hearts be hard wrested out, and may grow to more grief than any man here can divine. Wherefore, methinketh it were not the worst to send to the Queen some honourable, and trusty personage, such as tendereth the King's weal and the honour of his Council, and is also in credit and favour with her, for which considerations none seemeth more meetly to me than the reverend father my Lord Cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury, who may in this matter do most good of all men, if it please him to take the pain, which I doubt not of his goodness he will not refuse, for the King's sake and ours, and wealth of the young Duke himself, the King's most honourable brother, and for the comfort of my Sovereign Lord himself, my most dearest Nephew; considering, that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and obloquy now going abroad, and the hurts avoided that thereof might ensue, and then must rest and quietness grow to all the realm. And if she perhaps be so obstinate, and so precisely set in her own will and opinion, that neither his wise and faithful advertisement can move her, nor any man's reason satisfy her, then shall we, by my advice, by the King's authority, fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his Noble Presence, in whose continual company he shall be so well cherished, and so honourably entreated, that all the world shall to our honour and her reproach, perceive that it was only malice, frowardness, and folly, that caused her to keep him there. This is my mind for this time, except that any of you, my Lords, perceive to the contrary, for never shall I by God's grace, so wed myself unto mine own will, but I shall be ready to change it upon your better advices."

When the Protector had said, all the Council affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the King and the

Duke honourable, and a thing that should cease great murmur in the realm, if the mother might by good means be induced to deliver him; which thing the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom they all agreed also, to be most convenient thereto, took upon him to move her, and thereto to do his uttermost endeavour. Howbeit if she could in no wise be entreated with her goodwill to deliver him, then thought he, and such of the Spirituality as were present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted, to take him out against her will, for it would be a thing that should turn to the grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that place should be broken, which had so many years been kept, which both Kings and Popes had granted and confirmed, which ground was sanctified by St. Peter himself more than five hundred years ago. And since that time, was never so undevout a king, that ever enterprised that sacred privilege to violate, nor so holy a bishop that durst presume the church of the same to consecrate: "and therefore," quoth the Archbishop, "God forbid, that any man should, for any earthly enterprise, break the immunity and liberty of that sacred sanctuary, that hath been the safeguard of so many a good man's life;" "but I trust," quoth he, "we shall not need it, but for any manner of need I would we should not do it. I trust that she with reason shall be contented, and all things in good manner obtained. And if it hap that I bring it not to pass, yet shall I further it to my best power, so that you all shall perceive my goodwill, diligence, and endeavour; but the mother's dread and womanish fear shall be the let, if any be."

"Nay, womanish frowardness," quoth the Duke of Buckingham, "for I dare take it on my soul, that she well knoweth that she needeth no such thing to fear, either for her son or for herself. For as for her, here is no man that will be at war with women, would God some men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soon at rest. Howbeit there is none of her kin the less loved for that they be of her kin, but for their own evil deserving.

"And put the case that we neither loved her nor her kin, yet

there were no cause why we should hate the King's noble brother, to whose Grace we ourselves be kin, whose honour if she desired as our dishonour, and as much regard took to his wealth as to her own will, she could be as loath to suffer him to be absent from the King as any of us, if she had any wit, as would God she had as good-will as she hath froward wit. For she thinketh herself no wiser than some that are here, of whose faithful minds she nothing doubteth, but verily believeth and acknowledgeth, that they would be as sorry of his harm as her own self, and yet they would have him from her if she abide there.

"And we all, I think, be content that both her children be with her, if she came from thence, and abide in such a place where they may be with their honour. Now if she refuse in the deliverance of him, to follow the wisdom of them, whose wisdom she knoweth, whose approbate fidelity she well trusteth; it is easy to perceive frowardness letteth her, and not fear. But go to, suppose that she feareth (as who may let her to fear her own shadow) the more we ought to fear to leave him in her hands, for if she cast such fond doubts that she fear his hurt, then will she fear that he shall be fetched thence, for she will soon think, that if men were set (which God forbid) on so great a mischief, the sanctuary will little let them, which sanctuary good men as methinketh, might without sin somewhat less regard than they do.

"Now then if she doubt lest he might be fetched from her, is it not likely that she will send him somewhere out of the realm? Verily I look for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore mindeth it as we mind the let thereof. And if she might hap to bring that purpose to pass, as it were no great mastery to do, we letting her alone, all the world would say, that we were a sort of wise councillors about a King, to let his brother be cast away under our noses. And therefore I ensure you faithfully, for my mind, I will rather, maugre her stomach, fetch him away, than leave him there till her fear or fond frowardness convey him away, and yet will I break no sanctuary, for verily since the privilege of that place, and other of that sort, have so

long continued, I would not go about to break it, but if they were now to begin, I would not be he should make them; yet will not I say nay, but it is a deed of pity, that such men as the chance of the sea, or their evil debtors have brought into poverty, should have some place of refuge to keep in their bodies out of the danger of their cruel creditors. And if it fortune the crown to come in question, as it hath done before this time, while each part taketh other for traitors, I think it necessary to have a place of refuge for both. But as for thieves and murderers, whereof these places be full, and which never fall from their craft after they once fall thereunto, it is pity that every sanctuary should serve them, and especially wilful murderers, whom God commandeth to be taken from the altar and be put to death. And where it is otherwise, then in these cases there is no need of sanctuaries, appointed by God in the old law. For if necessity of his own defence, or misfortune drive him to that deed, then a pardon serveth him, which either is granted of course, or the King of pity and compassion giveth.

"Now look how few sanctuary men there be, whom necessity or misfortune compelleth to go thither. And then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein of such, whom wilful unthriftiness hath brought to naught. What a rabble of thieves, murderers, and malicious, heinous traitors there be, and that in two places especially, the one at the elbow of the City, and the other in the very bowels, I dare well avow it, if you weigh the good that they do, with the hurt that cometh of them, ye shall find it much better to lose both than to have both. And this, I say, although they were not abused (as they now be, and so long have been) that I fear me ever they will be while men be afraid to set their hands to the amendment, as though God and Saint Peter were the patrons of ungracious living. Now unthrifts riot and run in debt upon boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor men's goods, there they build, there they spend, and bid their creditors go whistle. Men's wives run thither with their husbands' plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating; thieves bring thither stolen goods, and live thereon.

There devise they new robberies nightly, and steal out and rob, rive, and kill men, and come again into those places, as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harm that they have done, but a licence also to do more mischief: howbeit, much of this great abusion (if wise men would set their hands thereunto) might be amended, with great thanks of God, and no breach of the privilege. The conclusion is, since it is so long ago, I wot not what Pope and what Prince, more piteous than politic, hath granted it, and other men sensible of a religious fear have not broken it, let us take pains with it, and let it stand a God's name in his force, as far forth as reason will, which is not so far forth as may serve to let us of the fetching forth of the nobleman, to his honour and wealth, out of that place, in the which he neither is nor can be a sanctuary or privileged man. A sanctuary ever seemeth to defend the body of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt only, but of lawful hurt; for against unlawful hurts and harms, no Pope nor King intended to privilege any one place, wherein it is lawful for one man to do another man wrong. That no man unlawfully take hurt, that liberty, the King, the law, and very nature forbiddeth in every place, and maketh in that regard, for every man, every place a sanctuary; but whereas man is by lawful means in peril, then needeth he the tuition of some special privilege, which is the only ground of all sanctuaries, from which necessity this noble Prince is far, whose love to his King, nature, and kindred proveth, whose innocence to all the world his tender youth affirmeth, and so sanctuary as for him is not necessary, and none he can have. Men come not to sanctuary as they come to baptism, to require it by godfathers, he must ask it himself that must have it, and reason, since no man hath cause to have it, but whose conscience of his own fault maketh him have need to require it. What will then hath yonder babe, which if he had discretion to require it, if need were, I daresay would be now right angry with them that keep him there? And I would think without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of privilege, to be somewhat more homely with them that be then sanctuary men indeed, that

if one go to the sanctuary with another man's goods, why should not the King, leaving his body at liberty satisfy the party of his goods even within the sanctuary; for neither King nor Pope can give any place such a privilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to pay."

And with that, divers of the clergy that were there present, whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreed plainly by the law of God and of the Church, that a sanctuary man should be delivered in payment of his debts, and stolen goods to the owner, and only liberty reserved to him to get his living by the labour of his hands. "Verily," quoth the Duke, "I think ye say very truth. And what if a man's wife take sanctuary, because she list to run from her husband? I would think if she can allege no other cause, he may lawfully, without any displeasure done to Saint Peter, take her out of Saint Peter's Church by the arm. And if nobody may be taken out of sanctuary, because he saith he will abide there, then if a child will take sanctuary, because he feareth to go to school, his master must let him alone. And as simple as that example is, yet there is less reason in our case than in it, for there, though it be a childish fear, yet there is at the least some fear, and herein is no fear at all. And verily I have heard of sanctuary men, but I never heard before of sanctuary children; and therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, whosoever may deserve to have need of it, if they think it for their surety, let them keep it, but he can be no sanctuary man, that hath no other discretion to desire it, nor malice to deserve it, whose life nor liberty can by any lawful process stand in danger. And he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do him good, I say plainly he breaketh no sanctuary."

When the Duke had done, the temporal men wholly and the most part of the spiritual men also, thinking no hurt earthly meant toward the young babe, condescend in effect that if he were not delivered he should be fetched out. Howbeit, they thought it best in avoiding of all manner of rumour, that the Cardinal should first assay to get him with her goodwill. And thereupon all the Council came to the Star Chamber at

Westminster, and the Cardinal, leaving the Protector and other lords in the Star Chamber, departed into the sanctuary to the Queen, accompanied with certain lords, were it for the respect of his honour, or that she should by the persons of so many, perceive that his errand was not only one man's mind; or were it for that the Protector intended not in this matter to trust one man alone, or else if she finally were determined to keep him, some of the company had peradventure some secret instruction incontinent, maugre her will, to take him, and to leave her no respite to convey him.

When the Queen and these lords were come together in presence, the Cardinal showed unto her, that it was thought to the Lord Protector and the whole Council that her keeping of the King's brother in that place highly sounded, not only to the grudge of the people, and their obloquy, but also to the importable grief and displeasure of the King's Royal Majesty, to whose Grace it were a singular comfort to have his natural brother in company, and it was both their dishonours and hers also, to suffer him in sanctuary, as though the one brother stood in danger and peril of the other. And he showed her further, that the whole Council had sent him to require of her the delivery of him, that he might be brought to the King's presence at his liberty out of that place, which men reckoned as a prison, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate and degree, and she in this doing, should both do great good to the realm, pleasure to the Council, profit to herself, succour to her friends that were in distress, and over that, which he knew well, she especially tendered, not only great comfort and honour to the King, but also to the young Duke himself, both whose great weal, it were to be together as well for many greater causes, as also for both their disport, and recreation, which things the Lords esteemed not light, though it seemed light, well pondering that their youth, without recreation and play cannot endure, nor any stranger for the convenience of both their ages and estates so meet in that point for any of them, as either of them for the other.

"My lord," quoth the Queen, "I say not nay, but that it

were very convenient that this gentleman whom you require were in the company of the King his brother, and in good faith, methinketh it were as great commodity to them both, as for yet awhile to be in the custody of their mother the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but especially the younger, which besides his infancy, that also needeth good looking to, hath a while been so sore diseased with sickness, and is so newly, rather little amended than well recovered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping but myself only, considering there is, as physicians say, and as we also find, double the peril in the relapse that was in the first sickness with which disease Nature being sore laboured, sore wearied and weakened waxeth the less able to bear out a new forfeit. And albeit there might be found other that would haply do their best unto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him than I, that so long have kept him, or is more tenderly like to cherish him, than his own mother that bare him."

"No man denieth, good Madam," quoth the Cardinal, "that your Grace of all folk were most necessary about your children, and so would all the Council, not only be content, but also glad that it were, if it might stand with your pleasure to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you appoint yourself to tarry here, then think they it more convenient, the Duke of York were with the King honourably at his liberty to the comfort of them both, than here as a sanctuary man to both their dishonour and obloquy, since there is not always so great necessity to have the child with the mother, but that occasion sometime may be such that it should be more expedient to keep him elsewhere, which in this well appeareth, that at such time, that your most dearest son, then Prince and now King should for his honour and good order of the country keep household in Wales, far out of your keeping, your Grace was well content therewith yourself."

"Not very well content," quoth the Queen, "and yet the case is not like, for the one was then in health, the other is now sick, in which case I marvel greatly why my Lord Protector is so

desirous to have him in keeping, where if the child in his sickness miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud.

"And they call it a thing so sore against my child's honour and theirs also that he abideth in this place, it is all their honours, there to suffer his abode, where no man doubteth he shall be best kept, and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth and danger myself after other my friends, which would God, were rather here in surety with me, than I were there in danger with them."

"Why, Madam," quoth the Lord Howard, "know you any thing, why they should be in danger?" "Nay, verily," quoth she, "nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be, but I trow it is no great marvel, though I fear lest those that have not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause." The Cardinal made a countenance to the Lord Howard, that he should harp no more upon that string, and said he to the Queen, that he nothing doubted, but those lords of her kin, the which remained under arrest, should upon the matter examined do well enough, and as toward her noble person, neither was, nor could be any manner of danger.

"Whereby should I trust that," quoth the Queen, "in that I am guiltless, as though they were guilty, in that I am with their enemies better beloved than they, when they hate them for my sake, in that I am so near to the King, and how far be they off that would help, as God send grace they hurt not, and therefore as yet I purpose not to depart hence. As for this gentleman, my son, I mind he shall be where I am till I see further, for I see some men so greedy without any substantial cause to have him, which maketh me much more wary and scrupulous to deliver him."

"Truly, Madam," quoth the Cardinal, "the further that ye be to deliver him, the further be other men to suffer you to keep him, lest your causeless fear might cause you farther to convey him, and many think he can here have no privilege, which can have neither will to ask it, nor yet malice nor offence to need it.

And therefore, they reckon no privilege broken, although they fetch him out of sanctuary, which if you finally refuse to deliver him, I think verily the Council will enfranchise him, so much dread hath my Lord his uncle, for the tender love he beareth him, lest your Grace should send him away."

"Ah," quoth the Queen, "hath he so tender a zeal to him, that he feareth nothing, but lest he should escape him? Thinketh he, that I would send him hence, which is neither in the plight to send out? And in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this Sanctuary? Whereof was there never tyrant yet so devilish, that durst attempt to break the privilege, and I trust God is now as strong to withstand his adversaries as ever he was. But my son can deserve no sanctuary, you say, and therefore he cannot have it; forsooth the Lord Protector has sent a goodly gloss by the which that place that may defend a thief, may not save an innocent; but he is in no danger, nor hath no need thereof, I would God he had not. Troweth the Protector (I pray God he may prove a protector, rather than a destroyer, whereunto his painted process draweth) that it is not honourable that the Duke bide here? It were more comfortable to them both, that he were with his brother, because the King lacketh a playfellow, yea be sure, I pray God send him better playfellows than him that maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the King, but that his brother, which hath no lust to play for sickness, must come out of sanctuary, out of his safeguard, to play with him; as though that Princes so young as they be, could not play without their peers, or children could not play without their kindred, with whom for the most part they agree much worse than with strangers. But the child, you say, cannot require the privilege! Who told the Protector so? Ask him, and you shall hear him ask it, and so shall he, if he will. Howbeit this is a strange matter; suppose he could not ask it, and think he would not ask it, and imagine he would ask to go out, if I say he shall not. Note, if I ask the privilege for myself, I say, that he that against my will taketh out him, breaketh Sanctuary.

Serveth this liberty for my person only, or for my goods too? you may not from hence take my horse from me, if I stole him not, nor owe you nothing: then followed it, that you may not take my child from me, he is also my ward, for as far as my learned counsel showeth me, he hath nothing by descent holden by Knight's service, but by socage: then the law maketh me his guardian, then may no man lawfully (I suppose) take my ward from me out of this place, without the breach of sanctuary, and if my privilege could not serve him, nor he ask it for himself, yet since the law committeth to me the custody of him, I may require it for him, except the law give the infant a guardian only for his goods, discharging him of the care and safe-keeping of his body, for which only both goods and lands serve. Wherefore here intend I to keep him, since man's law serveth the guardian to keep the infant, and the law of nature willeth the mother to keep the child, and God's law privileges the sanctuary, and the sanctuary privilegeth my son; since I fear to put him to the Protector's hands, that hath his brother already, which is (if both failed) inheritor to the crown as heir male, as he saith. The cause of my fear no man hath to do to examine, and yet fear I no further than the law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth every man the custody of them, by whose death he may inherit less land than a kingdom.

"I can say no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I pray God send him shortly need of sanctuary, when he may not come to it, for I would not that my mortal enemy should be taken out of sanctuary."

The Cardinal perceived that the Queen, ever the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and speak sore biting words against the Protector, and such as he neither believed, and also was loath to hear, he said to her, for a final conclusion, that he would no more dispute the matter, and if she were content to deliver the Duke to him and to the other lords there present, he durst lay his own body and soul both in pledge, not only for his surety, but also for his estate, and surely he knew nor suspected any cause but he might so do (but he

knew not all). And further, he said, if she would give him a resolute answer to the contrary, he would therewith depart incontinent, and shift whoso would with his business afterward, for he never intended further to move her in the matter, in the which she thought that he and all other also, save herself, lacked either wit or truth. Wit, if they were so that they nothing could perceive what the Protector intended, and truth, if they should procure her son to be delivered into his hands, in whom they should perceive towards the child any evil will intended; then she might think all the Council both evil-advised, and of little fidelity to their Prince.

The Queen with these words stood in a great study, and forasmuch as she saw the Lord Cardinal more ready to depart than the remnant, and the Protector himself ready at hand, so that she verily thought that she could not keep him there, but he should be incontinent taken thence; and to convey him elsewhere, neither had she time to serve her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed to convey him, and so all things were unready, when this message came so suddenly on her, nothing less looking for, than to have him out of sanctuary, which she knew now men to be set in all places about, that he could not be conveyed out untaken, and partly as she thought it might fortune her fear to be false: so well she knew it was either needless or bootless. Wherefore if she should needs go from him, she deemed best to deliver him, and especially of the Cardinal's faith she nothing doubting, nor of some other lords whom she saw there, which as she feared lest they might be deceived, so well was she assured, that they would not be corrupted: then thought she that it would make them the more warily to look to him, and the more circumspectly to see his surety, if she with her own hands betook him them by trust, and at the last she took the young Duke by the hand, and said unto the lords, My Lord (quoth she) and all my Lords, neither am I so unwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of the which thing I purpose to make such a proof, that if either of both lacked in you, might turn both me to great sorrow, the realm to much harm, and you to great reproach.

"For lo, here is," quoth she, "this gentleman, whom I doubt not, but I could keep safe if I would, whatsoever any man say, and I doubt not also, but there be some abroad so deadly enemies unto my blood, that if they knew where any of it lay in their own body, they would let it out; we have also experience, that the desire of a kingdom knoweth no kindred, the brother hath been the brother's bane, and may the nephews be sure of the uncle! Each of these children are other's defence, while they be asunder, and each of their lives lieth in other's body, keep one safe and both be sure, and nothing to both more perilous than both to be in one place: for a wise merchant never adventureth all his goods in one ship.

"All this notwithstanding, here I deliver him and his brother in him, to keep to your hands, of whom I shall ask them both before God and the world. Faithful you be, and that I know well, and I know you be wise, and of power and strength if you list to keep him, for you lack no help of yourselves, nor need to lack no help in this case, and if you cannot elsewhere, then may you leave him here. But only one thing I beseech you, for the trust that his father put you in ever, and for the trust I put you in now, that as far as you think that I fear too much, ye be well ware that you fear not too little." And therewithal she said to the child, "Farewell mine own sweet son, God send you good keeping, let me once kiss you ere you go, for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again;" and therewith she kissed him, and blessed him, and turned her back and wept, going her way, leaving the poor innocent child weeping as fast as the mother!

When the Cardinal and the other Lords had received the young Duke, they brought him into the Star Chamber, where the Protector took him into his arms, and kissed him with these words: "Now welcome my Lord with all my very heart," and he said in that of likelihood even as he inwardly thought, and thereupon forthwith brought him to the King his brother into the Bishop's Palace at Paul's, and from thence through the city honourably into the Tower, out of which after that day they never came abroad. When the Protector had both the children

in his possession, yea and that they were in a sure place, he then began to thirst to see the end of his enterprise. And to avoid all suspicion, he caused all the lords which he knew to be faithful to the King, to assemble at Baynard's Castle, to commune of the order of the coronation, while he and other of his complices and of his affinity, at Crosby's Place, contrived the contrary, and to make the Protector King: to which council there were adhibited very few, and they very secret.

Then began here and there some muttering amongst the people, as though all things should not long be well, though they knew not what they feared, nor wherefore; were it that before such great things, men's hearts (of a secret instinct of nature) misgive them, as the south wind sometime swelleth of itself before a tempest; or were it that some one man haply somewhat perceiving, filled many men with suspicion, though he showed few men what he knew; howbeit, the dealing itself made men to muse on the matter, though the council were close, for by little and little all folk drew from the Tower where the King was, and drew to Crosby's Place, so that the Protector had all the resort, and the King was in manner desolate. While some made suit unto them that had the doing, some of them were by their friends secretly warned, that it might haply turn to no good to them, to be too much attendant on the King without the Protector's appointment, which removed divers of the King's old servants from him, and set new in their places about him.

Thus many things coming together, partly by chance, and partly by purpose, caused at length, not common people only, which waver with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords to mark the matter and muse thereupon: insomuch that the Lord Stanley, which afterward was Earl of Derby wisely mistrusted it, and said to the Lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two several councils, "For while we," quoth he, "talk of one matter at the one place, little know we whereof they talk in the other." "Peace, my Lord," quoth the Lord Hastings; "on my life never doubt you, for while one man is there, which is never thence, neither can there be anything once minded that

should sound amiss towards me, but it should be in my ears as soon as out of their mouths." This he meant by Catesby, which was near of his secret council and whom he most familiarly used in his weighty matters, putting no man in so special trust as he, reckoning himself to be beloved of no man more than he; knowing well that there was no man so much beholding to him as was this Catesby, which was a man well learned in the laws of this realm, and by the special favour of the Lord Hastings in good authority, and bore much rule in the counties of Leicester and Northampton, where the Lord Hastings' power lay. But surely great pity was it that he had not more truth or less wit. For his dissimulation only kept all that mischief up, in whom if the Lord Hastings had not put so special trust, the Lord Stanley and he, with divers other lords, had departed into their counties and broken all the dance, for many evil signs that he saw, which he now constructed all for the best; so surely thought he that there could be no harm intended towards him in that council where Catesby was. And of truth the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham did seem to show very much countenance unto the Lord Hastings, and kept him often in their company. And undoubtedly the Protector loved him well, and loath he was to have lost him, saving for fear lest his life should have quelled their purpose; for the which cause he moved Catesby to prove with some words cast out afar off, whether he could think it possible to win the Lord Hastings to their part. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported unto him that he found him so fast, and heard him speak so terrible words, that he durst no further break unto him; and of a truth the Lord Hastings of very trust showed unto Catesby the mistrust that others begun to have in the matter. And therefore he, fearing lest their motions might with the Lord Hastings diminish his credit, whereunto only all the matter leaned; procured the Protector hastily to rid him, and much the rather, for he trusted by his death to obtain much of the rule which the Lord Hastings bare in his country; the only desire whereof, was the thing that induced him to be procurer, and one of the specialist

contrivers of all this horrible treason. Whereupon the Lord Protector caused a council to be set at the Tower on the Friday the thirteenth day of June, where was much communing for the honourable solemnity of the Coronation, of the which the time appointed approached so near, that the Pageants were amaking day and night at Westminster, and victuals killed, which afterwards was cast away.

These lords thus sitting, communing of this matter, the Protector came in among them about nine of the clock, saluting them courteously, excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying merrily that he had been asleep that day. And after a little talking with them, he said to the Bishop of Ely, "My Lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden at Holburn, I require you let us have a mess of them." "Gladly, my Lord" (quoth he) "I would I had some better thing as ready at your pleasure as that," and with that in all haste he sent his servant for a dish of strawberries. The Protector set the lords fast on communing, and thereupon prayed them to spare him a little, and so he departed and came again between ten and eleven of the clock into the chamber, all changed with a sour angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and fretting, gnawing of his lips and so set him down in his place. All the lords were dismayed, and sore marvelled at this manner and sudden change, what he should ail. When he had sitten a while, thus he began, "What were they worthy to have, that compass and imagine the destruction of me being so near of blood to the King, and Protector of this his royal realm?" at which question, all the lords sat sore astonished, musing much by whom the question should be meant, of which every man knew himself clear.

Then the Lord Hastings, who for the familiarity that was between them, thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors whatsoever they were, and all the other affirmed the same.

"That is," quoth he, "yonder sorceress, my brother's wife and others with her" (meaning the Queen). At these words

many of the lords were sore abashed which favoured her, but the Lord Hastings was better content in his mind, that it was moved by her, than by any other that he loved better, albeit his heart grudged that he was not afore made of the counsel of this matter, as well as he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their putting to death which were by his assent before devised to be beheaded at Pomfret, this selfsame day, in the which he was not aware that it was by others devised, that he himself should the same day be beheaded at London.

Then said the Protector, "See in what wise that sorceress, and others of her counsel, as Shore's wife with her affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft thus washed my body:" and therewith plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow on his left arm, where he showed a deformed withered arm, and small, as it was never other. And therefore every man's mind misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel; for they knew that the Queen was both too wise to go about any such folly, and also if she would, yet she would not make Shore's wife of her counsel, whom of all women she most hated, as that concubine whom the King her husband most loved.

Also, there was no man there but knew that his arm was ever such since the day of his birth. Nevertheless the Lord Hastings, which from the death of King Edward kept Shore's wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the King's life, saving it is said that he forbare her for reverence towards his King, or else of a certain kind of fidelity towards his friend; yet now his heart somewhat grudged to have her whom he loved so highly accused; and as he knew well, untruly; therefore he answered and said, "Certainly my Lord, if they have so done, they be worthy of heinous punishment." "What," quoth the Protector, "thou servest me, I think, with if and with and, I tell thee they have done it, and I will make it good on thy body, traitor." And therewith (as in a great anger) he struck his fist on the board a great rap; at which token given, one cried treason without the chamber, and therewith a door clapped, and men in arms came rushing in, as many as the chamber could hold! And anon the Protector said to the Lord Hastings, "I arrest

thee traitor." "What me my Lord?" quoth he. "Yes thou traitor," quoth the Protector. And one let fly at the Lord Stanley, who shrunk at the stroke, and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth, for as suddenly as he shrunk, yet the blood ran about his ears. Then was the Archbishop of York, and Doctor Morton, Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley, and divers others taken, and bestowed in several chambers, save the Lord Hastings, whom the Protector commanded to speed and shrive him apace, "For by St. Paul" (quoth he) "I will not dine till I see thy head off."

It booted him not to ask why, but heavily he took a priest at a venture, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much haste to his dinner, who might not go to it till this murder be done, for saving of his ungracious oath.

So was he brought forth into the green besides the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down on a log of timber, that lay there for building of the chapel, and there tyrannously stricken off, and after his body and head were interred at Windsor, by his master King Edward the Fourth, late deceased.

A miraculous case it is to hear, either the warnings that he should have avoided, or the tokens of that he could not avoid.

For the next night before his death, the Lord Stanley sent to him a trusty messenger at midnight in all the haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer for to abide, for he had a fearful dream in the which he thought that a boar with his tusks so razed them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders, and forasmuch as the Protector gave the boar for his cognisance, he imagined that it should be he.

This dream made such a fearful impression in his heart, that he was determined no longer to tarry, but had his horse ready, if the Lord Hastings would go with him. So that they would ride so far that night, that they should be out of danger by the next day.

"Ah, good Lord," quoth the Lord Hastings to the messenger,

"leaneth my Lord thy master so much to such trifles, and hath he such faith in dreams, which either his own fear fantasieth or do rise in the night's rest, by reason of the day's thought?

"Tell him it is plain witchcraft to believe in such dreams which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might as likely make them true by our going if we were caught and brought back (as friends' flyers), for then had the boar a cause likely to raze us with his tusks, as folks that fled for some falsehood: wherefore either there is peril, but indeed there is none, or if any be, it is rather in going than abiding.

"And if we must needs fall into peril, one way or the other, yet had I rather that men should see it were by other men's falsehood than think it were either our own fault or faint feeble heart, and therefore go to thy master and commend me to him, and tell him I pray him to be merry and have no fear, for I assure him, I am assured of the man he wotteth of, as I am sure of my own hand." "God send grace," quoth the messenger, and so departed. Certain it is also, that in riding towards the Tower the same morning in which he was beheaded, his horse that he accustomed to ride on, stumbled twice or thrice almost to the falling, which thing although it happeneth to them daily to whom no mischance is towards, yet hath it been as an old evil token observed as a going towards mischief. Now this that followeth was no warning, but an envious scorn: the same morning before he was up from his bed, where Shore's wife lay with him all night, there came to him Sir Thomas Howard, son to the Lord Howard (which lord was once of the priviest of the Lord Protector's counsel and doing) as it were of courtesy to accompany him to the council, but of truth sent by the Lord Protector to haste him thitherward.

This Sir Thomas, while the Lord Hastings stayed a while communing with a priest whom he met in Tower Street, brake the lord's tale, saying to him merrily, "What my Lord I pray you come on, wherefore talk you so long with that priest, you have no need of a priest yet," and laughed upon him, as

though he would say, you shall have need of one soon. But little thought the other what he meant (but before night these words were well remembered by them that heard them) so the true Lord Hastings little mistrusted, and was never merrier, nor thought his life in more surety in all his days, which thing is often a sign of change, but I shall rather let anything pass me than the vain surety of man's mind so near his death; for upon the very Tower wharf, so near the place where his head was off, so soon after, as a man might cast a ball, a pursuivant of his own called Hastings met with him; and of their meeting in that place he was put in remembrance another time, in which it happened them to meet before together in the place, at which time the Lord Hastings had been accused to King Edward by the Lord Rivers, the Queen's brother, insomuch that he was for a while, which lasted not long, highly in the King's indignation, as he now met the same pursuivant in the same place, the jeopardy so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talk with him thereof, with whom he had talked in the same place of that matter, and therefore he said: "Ah, Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with a heavy heart?" "Yea, my lord," quoth he, "that I remember well, and thanks be to God they got no good, nor you harm thereby." "Thou wouldest say so," quoth he, "if thou knewest so much as I do, which few know yet, and more shall shortly." That meant he that the Earl Rivers, and the Lord Richard, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, should that day be beheaded at Pomfret, as they were indeed, which act he knew well should be done, but thought not that the axe hung so near his own head.

"In faith man," quoth he, "I was never so sorry, nor never stood in so great danger of my life, as I did when thou and I met here, and, lo, the world is turned now, now stand mine enemies in the danger, as thou mayest hap to hear more hereafter, and I never in my life merrier, nor never in so great surety." "I pray God it prove so," quoth Hastings. "Prove," quoth he, "doubtest thou that, nay, nay, I warrant thee." And so in manner displeased, he entered into the Tower, where he was

not long alive, as you have heard. O Lord God the blindness of our mortal natures, when he most feared, he was in most surety, and when he reckoned himself most sure, he lost his life, and that within two hours after! Thus ended this honourable man, a good knight and gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plain and open to his enemy, and sure and secret to his friend, easy to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage foresaw no perils, a loving man and passing well beloved, very faithful, and trusty enough, but trusting too much was his destruction, as you may perceive.

Now flew the fame of this lord's death through the City, and farther about, like a wind in every man's ear; but the Protector immediately after dinner (intending to set some colour upon the matter) sent in all the haste for many substantial men out of the City into the Tower, and at their coming, himself with the Duke of Buckingham stood harnessed in old ill-favoured briganders, such as no man would think that they would have vouchsafed to have put on their backs, except some sudden necessity had constrained them. Then the Lord Protector showed them, that the Lord Hastings and other of his conspiracy, had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the Duke of Buckingham, there, the same day in Council, and what they intended further, was yet not well known, of which their treason he had never knowledge before ten of the clock the same forenoon, which sudden fear drave them to put on such harness as came next to their hands for their defence, and so God holp them, that the mischief turned upon them that would have done it, and thus he required them to report. Every man answered fair, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man believed. Yet for the further appeasing of the people's minds, he sent immediately after dinner an herald of arms with a proclamation through the City of London, which was proclaimed in the King's name, that the Lord Hastings, with divers other of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired, the same day, to have slain the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham, sitting in council; and after to have taken upon them the rule of the King and the realm at their pleasure,

and thereby to pill and spoil whom they list uncontrolled, and much matter was devised in the same proclamation to the slander of the Lord Hastings, as that he was an evil counsellor to the King's father, enticing him to many things highly redounding to the diminishing of his honour, and to the universal hurt of his realm, by his evil company, and sinister procuring, and ungracious example, as well in many other things, as in vicious living, and inordinate abusing of his body, both with many other, and especially with Shore's wife, which was one of his secret counsel in this heinous treason, with whom he lay nightly, and namely the night passed before his death, so that it was the less marvel, if ungracious living brought him to an unhappy end, which he was now put to by the command of the King's Highness, and of his honourable and faithful Council, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his false contrived treason, and also lest the delaying of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons partners of his conspiracy to gather and assemble themselves together in making so great commotion for his deliverance, whose hope now being by his well-deserved death politically repressed, all the realm by God's grace rest in good quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two hours after he was beheaded, and it was so curiously indicted, and so fair written in parchment in a fair, set hand, and therewith so large a process that every child might perceive that it was prepared and studied before, and (as some men thought) by Catesby, for all the time between his death and the publishing of the proclamation could scarce suffice to the bare writing of it alone, albeit that it had been in paper, and scribbled forth in haste at adventure.

So that upon the proclaiming thereof, one that was schoolmaster at Paul's standing by, and comparing the shortness of the time with the length of the matter, said to them that stood about him, "Here is a gay, goodly cast, foully cast away for haste." And a merchant that stood by him said "that it was written by inspiration and prophecy."

Now then, by-and-by, as it were for anger, and not for

covetousness the Protector sent Sir Thomas Howard to the house of Shore's wife (for her husband dwelt not with her) which spoiled her of all that ever she had, above the value of two or three thousand marks, and sent her body to prison.

And the Protector had laid to her for the manner sake, that she was of counsel with the Lord Hastings to destroy him. In conclusion when no colour could fasten upon these matters, then he laid heinously to her charge that thing that she could not deny, for all the world knew that it was true, and that notwithstanding every man laughed to hear it then so suddenly, so highly taken, that she was nought of her body. And for this cause, as a godly, continent prince, clean and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world, for the amendment of men's manners, he caused the Bishop of London to put her to open penance, going before a cross one Sunday at procession with a taper in her hand. In the which she went in countenance and pace so womanly, and albeit she was out of all array saving her kirtle only, yet went she so fair and lovely, and especially when the wondering of the people cast a comely red in her cheeks, of the which before she had most miss, that her great shame won her much praise amongst them that were more amorous of her body, than curious of her soul: and many good folk that hated her living, and were glad to see sin corrected, yet pitied they more her penance than rejoiced at it; when they considered that the Protector did it more of a corrupt mind than any virtuous affection.

This woman was born in London, well friended, honestly brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon, her husband an honest and a young citizen, godly and of good substance, but forasmuch as they were coupled before she was well ripe, she not very fervently loved for whom she never longed, which was the thing (by chance) that the more easily made her to incline to the King's appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of his royalty, the hope of gain, apparel, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth was able soon to pierce a soft tender heart: but when the King had abused her, anon her husband being an honest man would not

presume to touch a King's concubine, but left her up to him altogether.

When the King died, the Lord Hastings took her, which in the King's days, albeit that he was sore enamoured with her yet he forbare, either for a princely reverence, or for a certain friendly faithfulness.

Proper she was and fair, nothing in her body that you could have changed, but if you would have wished her somewhat higher. This say they that knew her in her youth, some said and judged that she had been well favoured, and some judged the contrary, whose judgment seemeth like as men guess the beauty of one long before departed, by a shape taken out of a charnel house, and this judgment was in the time of King Henry the Eighth, in the eighteenth year of whose reign she died when she had nothing but a shrivelled skin and bone. Her beauty pleased not men so much as her pleasant behaviour, for she had a proper wit, and could both read and write, merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometimes taunting without displeasure, but not without disport. King Edward would say he had three concubines, which in divers properties diversely excelled, one the merriest, the other the wisest, the third the holiest harlot in the realm, as one, whom no man could get out of the church to any place lightly, unless it were to his bed, the other two were somewhat greater personages than Mistress Shore, and yet nevertheless of their humility were content to be nameless, and to forbear the praise of these properties! But the merriest was Shore's wife, in whom the King therefore took great pleasure, for many he had, but her he loved, whose favour to say the truth (for it were sin to belie the devil) she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many men's comfort and relief. For where the King took displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his mind, where men were out of favour, she would bring them into his grace, for many that had highly offended, she obtained pardon, and of great forfeitures she got remission, and finally in many weighty suits she stood many men in great stead, either for none or for very small reward: and those

rather gay than rich, either that she was content with the deed well done, or for that she delighted to be sued unto, and to show what she was able to do with the King, or for that wanton women and wealthy be not always covetous. I doubt not some men will think this woman to be too slight to be written of among grave and weighty matters, which they shall specially think that happily saw her in her age and adversity, but we think the chance so much more worthy to be remembered, in how much after wealth she fell to poverty, and from riches to beggary, unfriended, out of acquaintance, after great substance, after so great favour with her Prince, after as great suit and seeking to with all those which in those days had business to speed, as many other men were in their times, which be now famous only by the infamy of their evil deeds, her doings were not much less, albeit they be much less remembered, because they were not evil, for men use to write an evil turn in marble stone, but a good turn in the dust; which is not worst proved by her, for after her wealth she went begging of many that had begged themselves if she had not holp them, such was her chance.

Now was it devised by the Protector and his Council, that the same day that the Lord Chamberlain was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the same hour, should be beheaded at Pomfret the Earl Rivers, and the Lord Richard the Queen's son, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, which as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony Stratford by the consent of the Lord Hastings; which execution was done by the order and in the presence of Sir Richard Ratcliff, Knight, whose service the Protector specially used in the counsel, and in the execution of such lawless enterprises, as a man that had been long secret with him, having experience of the world, a notable wit, short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behaviour, bold in mischief, and as far from pity as from all fear of God.

This knight brought these four persons to the scaffold at the day appointed, and showed to all the people that they were traitors, not suffering the lords to speak, and to declare their

innocence, lest their words might have inclined men to pity them, and to hate the Protector and his part, and so without judgment and process of the law caused them to be beheaded without other earthly guilt, but only they were good men, and true to the King, and too nigh to the Queen; insomuch that Sir Thomas Vaughan going to his death said: "A mischief take them that took the prophecy that G. should destroy King Edward's children, for George Duke of Clarence, Lord George, which for that suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. Duke of Gloucester, which now I see is he that shall and will accomplish the prophecy, and destroy King Edward's children, and all their allies and friends, as it appeareth by us this day; whom I appeal to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murder, and our true innocency." And then Ratcliff said, "You have well appealed, lay down your head." "Yea," quoth Sir Thomas, "I die in right, beware you die not in wrong." And so that good knight was beheaded, and the other three, and buried naked in the Monastery at Pomfret.

When the Lord Hastings and those other lords and knights were thus beheaded and rid out of the way, then the Protector caused it to be proclaimed that the coronation for divers great and urgent causes should be deferred till the second day of November, for then thought he, that while men mused what the matter meant, and while the Lords of the realm were about him, out of their own strengths, and while no man knew what to think, nor whom to trust, or whether they should have time or space to digest the matter, and make parts; it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himself in possession of the crown, before men could have time to devise any ways to resist. But now was all the study, how this matter, being of itself so heinous, might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might be well taken. To this council they took divers, such as they thought meet to be trusted, and likely to be induced to that part, and able to stand them in stead, either by power or by policy. Among whom, they made of counsel Edmond Shaw, then Mayor of London, which upon trust of

his own advancement, where he was of a proud heart, highly desirous, took upon him to frame the City to their appetite. Of spiritual men they took such as had wit, and were in authority amongst the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Amongst these had, they took Ralph Shaw, clerk, brother to the Mayor, and Friar Pinkie, Provincial of the Augustine Friars, both Doctors in Divinity, both great preachers, both of more learning than virtue, of more fame than learning, and yet of more learning than truth. For they were before greatly esteemed among the people, but after that, never none of those two were regarded. Shaw made a sermon in praise of the Protector before the coronation and Pinkie made one after the coronation, both so full of tedious flattery, that no good man's ears could abide them. Pinkie in his sermon so lost his voice, that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame of the world, into the which he durst never after much come abroad; but the Friar feared no shame, and so it harmed him the less. Howbeit, some doubt, and many think, that Pinkie was not of counsel before the coronation, but after the common manner fell to flattery after, namely, because his sermon was not incontinent upon it, but at St. Mary Spitle the Easter after. But certain it is, that Doctor Shaw was of council in the beginning, insomuch that they determined that he should first break the matter in a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he should by the authority of his preaching induce the people to incline to the Protector's ghostly purpose. But now was all the labour and study in the device of some convenient pretext, for which the people should be content to depose the Prince, and accept the Protector for their King. In which divers things they devised, but the chief thing, and the weight of all that invention rested in this; that they should allege bastardy in King Edward himself, or in his children, or both; so that he should seem disabled to inherit the crown by the Duke of York, and the Prince by him. To lay bastardy in King Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the Protector's own mother, which was mother

to them both. For in that point could be no other colour, but to pretend that his own mother was an adultress; but nevertheless he would that point should be less and more finely and closely handled, not even fully plain and directly, but touched upon craftily, as though men spared in that point to speak all the truth for fear of his displeasure. But that other point concerning the bastardy, they devised to surmise in King Edward his children; that he desired should be openly declared and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceived, except we repeat some things long before done about King Edward's marriages.

After King Edward the Fourth had deposed King Henry the Sixth, and was in peaceable possession of the realm; he determined with himself to marry (as was requisite) both for himself and for the realm; he sent the Earl of Warwick and divers other noblemen in embassage to the French King, to entreat a marriage between the King and Bona, sister to the French Queen, then being in France. In which thing the Earl of Warwick found the parties so toward and willing, that he speedily without any difficulty according to his instructions brought the matter to a good conclusion. Now happened it in the mean season, there came to make a suit to the King by petition Dame Elizabeth Gray (which after was his Queen), then a widow, born of noble blood, specially by her mother, which was Duchess of Bedford, and she was married to Sir Richard Woodville; Lord Rivers, her father.

Howbeit, this Elizabeth being in service with Queen Margaret, wife to King Henry the Sixth, was married to one John Grey, Esquire, whom King Henry made knight at the last battle of St. Albans, but little while he enjoyed his knighthood, for at the same field he was slain.

After, when King Edward was King, and the Earl of Warwick being on his embassage, this poor lady made her suit to the King to be restored to such small lands as her husband had given her in jointure; whom when the King beheld, and heard her speak, as she was both fair and of good favour, moderate of stature, well-made, and very wise; he not alone pitched on her,

but also waxed enamoured on her, and taking her secretly aside, began to enter into talking more familiarly, whose appetite when she perceived, she virtuously denied him, but that she did so wisely, and that with so good manner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finally, after many a meeting and much wooing, and many great promises, she well perceived the King's affection towards her so greatly increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldly say her mind, as to him whose heart she perceived more fervently set than to fall off for a word. And in conclusion she showed him plain, that as she thought herself too simple to be his wife, so she thought herself too good to be his concubine. The King much marvelling at her constancy, as he that had not been before elsewhere so stiffly said nay, so much esteemed her continence and chastity, that he set her virtue instead of possession and riches: and thus taking counsel of his own desire, determined in haste to marry her.

And after that he was thus appointed, and had between them twain assured her, then asked he counsel of his secret friends, and that in such manner, that they might easily perceive that it booted them not to say nay. Notwithstanding, the Duchess of York, his mother, was so sore moved therewith, that she dissuaded that marriage as much as she possible might; alleging that it was his honour, profit, and surety, to marry in some noble progeny out of his realm, whereupon depended great strength to his estate by that affinity, and great possibility of increase of his dominions. And that he could not well otherwise do, considering the Earl of Warwick had so far forth entered into the matter already, which was not like to take it well if all his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she said further, "that it was not princely to marry his own subject, no greater occasion leading thereunto; no possessions nor other commodity depending thereupon, but only as a rich man would marry his maiden only for a little wanton dotage upon her person. In which marriage many men commend more the maiden's fortune than the man's wisdom: and yet she said

that there was more honesty than honour in this marriage; forasmuch as there is not between a merchant and his maid so great a difference, as between a King and his subject, a great prince and a poor widow. In whose person, although there were nothing to be misliked, yet was there, said she, nothing so excellent but that it might be found in divers other that were more meet," quoth she, "for your estate, yea and maidens also, the only widowhood of Dame Elizabeth Grey (although she were in all other points and things convenient for you) should suffice, as I think, to refrain you from her marriage, since it is an unfitting thing, and a great blemish to the sacred majesty of a prince, that ought as near to approach priesthood in cleanness, as he doth in dignity, to be defiled with bigamy in his first marriage." The King made his mother an answer, part in earnest, and part in play merrily, as he that knew himself out of her rule: and albeit he would that she should take it well, yet was he at a point in his own mind, took she it well or otherwise. Howbeit, somewhat to satisfy her, he said, that albeit marriage being a spiritual thing, ought rather to be made for the respect of God; where his grace inclineth, the parties ought to incline to love together (as he trusted it was in his case) rather than for the regard of any temporal advantage; yet nevertheless he deemed this marriage well considered not to be unprofitable, for he reckoned the amity of no earthly nation to be so necessary for him as the friendship of his own, which he thought likely to bear him so much the more hearty favour, in that he disdained not to marry with one of his own land: and yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite, he would find the means to enter thereunto much better by other of his kin, where all parties could be contented, than to marry himself, wherein he should never haply love, and for the possibility of possession's lose the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that ever he hath beside, if he be wived against his appetite, and "I doubt not," quoth he, "but there be, as you say, others that be in every point comparable with her; and therefore I let not them that like them to

marry them, no more is it reason that it mislike any man that I marry where it liketh me. And I am sure, that my cousin of Warwick neither loveth me so little, to grudge at that that I love, nor is so unreasonable, to look that I should in choice of a wife rather be ruled by his eye than by my own, as though I were a ward that were bound to marry by the appointment of a guardian. I would not be a King with that condition, to forbear mine own liberty in choice of mine own marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in strange lands, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profit. And we have already title by that means, as sufficeth to so much, as sufficeth to get and keep well in one man's days. That she is a widow and hath already children. By God his blessed Lady, I am a bachelor and have some too, and each of us hath a proof, that neither of us is like to be barren. And therefore, madame, I pray you be content, I trust to God she shall bring forth a young prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamy, let the Bishop hardly lay it to my charge when I come to take orders, for I understand it is forbidden a priest, but I never knew that it was forbidden a prince."

The Duchess with these words nothing appeased, and seeing the King so set on, that she could not pluck him back, so highly she disdained t, that, under pretence of her duty towards God, she devised to disturb this marriage, and rather to help that he should marry one Dame Elizabeth Lucy, whom the King not long before had gotten with child, wherefore the King's mother objected openly against this marriage. As it were in discharge of her conscience, that the King was sure to Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and her husband before God, by reason of which words such obstacle was made in that matter, that either the bishop durst not, or the King would not proceed to the solemnisation of the marriage, till his fame were clearly purged, and the truth well and openly testified. Whereupon Dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for, and albeit she was by the King's mother and many others put in good comfort that she was ensured to the King, yet when she was solemnly sworn to say the truth, she confessed she was never ensured. Howbeit, she

said, his Grace spake such loving words to her, that she verily hoped that he would have married her, and if such kind words had not been, she would never have showed such kindness to him, to let him so kindly get her with child. This examination solemnly taken, it was clearly proved that there was no impediment to let the King to marry; wherefore, he shortly after, at Grafton, beside Stony Stratford, married the Lady Elizabeth Grey, very privately, which was his enemy's wife, and had prayed heartily for his loss, in the which God loved her better, than to grant her her boon, for then had she not been his wife. And after that, she was crowned Queen, and her father was created Earl Rivers, and her son created Marquis Dorset. But when the Earl of Warwick understood of this marriage, he took it so highly, that thereof ensued much bloodshed, as is declared before in the story of Edward the Fourth.

I have rehearsed this marriage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appear upon how slippery a ground the Protector builded his colour, by which he pretended King Edward's children to be bastards; but the invention, as simple as it was, liked them to whom it sufficeth to have somewhat to say, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proof than themselves list to make.

Now to return where I left, as I began to show you, it was by the Protector and his council concluded, that this Doctor Shaw should in a sermon at Paul's Cross signify to the people, that neither King Edward himself, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor were the very children of the Duke of York, but begotten unlawfully by other persons by adultery of the Duchess their mother. And Dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of King Edward, and so Prince Edward and all the children begotten on the Queen were bastards. And according to this device, Dr. Shaw, the Sunday after at Paul's Cross, in a great audience (as always a great number assembled to his preaching) came into the pulpit, taking for his theme, "Spuria vitulamina non dabunt radices altos," Sapien 4, that is to say, "Bastard slips shall never take deep roots." Whereupon when he had showed the great grace

that God giveth, and secretly infundeth in right generation after the laws of matrimony, then declared he, that those children commonly lacked that grace and (for the punishment of their parents) were for the most part unhappy, which were illegitimate, and especially in adultery, of which though some (by the ignorance of the world, and truth had from knowledge) have inherited for a season other men's lands, yet God always so provideth, that it continueth not in their blood long, but the truth coming to light, the rightful inheritors be restored and the bastard slips plucked up ere it can be rooted deep. And when he had laid for the proof and confirmation of this sentence, examples taken out of the Old and New Testaments, and other ancient histories, then began he to descend to the praise of the Lord Richard Duke of York, calling him father to the Protector, and declared his title to the Crown by inheritance, and also by entail authorised by Parliament after the death of King Henry the Sixth. Then showed he, that the Lord Protector was only the right heir of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared he, that King Edward was never lawfully married to the Queen, but his wife before God, was Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children were bastards. And besides that, that neither King Edward himself nor the Duke of Clarence (amongst them that were secret in the Duke of York's household) were never reckoned surely to be the children of the noble Duke, as those that by their favours more resembled other known men, than him; from whose virtuous conditions, he said also, that King Edward was far off. "But the Lord Protector (quoth he) that very noble prince, the special patron of knightly prowess, as well in all princely behaviour as in lineaments and favour of his visage, representeth the very face of the noble Duke his father! This is (quoth he) the father's own figure, this is his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plain express likeness of that noble Duke!"

Now was it before devised, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should have come in amongst the people to the sermon, to the end that these words so meeting with his

presence, might have been taken amongst the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the preacher's mouth, and should have moved the people even there to have cried, King Richard, that it might have been after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle: but this device failed, either by the Protector's negligence, or the preacher's over hasty diligence. For while the Protector found by the way tarrying, lest he should have prevented these words, the Doctor fearing that he should come ere his sermon could come to those words, hasting his matter thereto, he was come to them and past them, and entered into other matters ere the Protector came, whom when he beheld coming, he left the matter in hand, and out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeat these words again. "This is the very noble Prince, the especial patron of knightly prowess, which as well in all princely behaviour, as in the lineaments and form of his visage, representeth the very face of the noble Duke of York his father! This is his father's own figure, this is his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plain express likeness of that noble Duke, whose remembrance can never die while he liveth!" While these words were speaking, the Protector accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, went through the people up into the place where the Doctors stand, where they heard out the sermon: but the people were so far from crying King Richard, that they stood as they had been turned into stones for wonder of this shameful sermon: after which once ended, the preacher gat him home and never after durst look out for shame, but kept him out of sight as an owl, and when he asked any of his old friends what the people talked of him, although that his own conscience will show him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in every man's mouth of him much shame spoken, it so struck him to the heart, that in few days after he withered away.

Then on the Tuesday after, next following this sermon, being the 17th day of June, there came to Guildhall, London, the Duke of Buckingham, and divers lords and knights, more than

happily knew the message that they brought. And at the east end of the Hall, where the hustings be kept, the Duke, and the Mayor, and the other lords sat down, and the Aldermen also, all the Commons of the City being assembled and standing before them. After silence commanded upon a great pain in the Protector's name, the Duke stood up, and as he was well learned and of nature marvellously well spoken, he said to the people with a clear and a loud voice: "Friends, for the zeal and hearty favour that we bear you, we be come to break off a matter right great and weighty, and no less weighty than pleasing to God, and profitable to the realm, nor to no part of the realm more profitable than to you, the citizens of this noble city.

"For why, the thing that you have long lacked, and as we well know, sore longed for, that you would have gone far to fetch; that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labour, pain, cost, adventure, or danger. What thing is that? Certainly the surety of your own bodies, the quiet of your wives and daughters, and the safeguard of your wives and daughters, and the safeguard of your goods: of all which things in times past you stood in doubt. For who was he of you all that could reckon himself lord of his own goods, among so many gins and traps as were set for them, among so much pilling and polling, among so many taxes and talliages, of the which there was never end, and oftentimes no need, or if any were, it grew rather of riot, or of unreasonable waste, than any necessary honourable charge, so that there was daily plucked and pilled from good and honest men great substance of goods, to be lashed out among unthrifts, so far forth, that fifteenths sufficed not, nor any usual terms of known taxes, but under an easy name of benevolence and good-will, the Commissioners took so much of every man, as no man would with his good-will have given. As though the name of benevolence had signified, that every man should pay, not what he of himself of his good-will list to grant, but what the King of his good-will list to take, who never asked little, but everything was enhanced above the measure, amercements turned into fines, fines into treason,

where I think that no man looketh that we shall remember you of examples by name, as though Burdett were forgotten, which was, for a word spoken in haste, cruelly beheaded. This Burdett was a merchant dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, which now is the sign of the Flower-de-luce, over against Soper Lane. This man, merrily, in the ruffling time of King Edward the Fourth's reign, said to his own son, that he would make him inheritor of the Crown, meaning his own house, but these words King Edward made to be misconstrued, and interpreted that Burdett meant the Crown of the realm. Wherefore within less space than four hours, he was apprehended, judged, drawn, and quartered, in Cheapside, by the misconstruing of the laws of the realm for the Prince's pleasure; with no less honour to Markham, Chief Justice then, which lost his office rather than he would assent to that judgment.

"What need I to speak of Sir Thomas Cooke, Alderman and Mayor of this noble city? Who is of you either for negligence that wotteth not, or so forgetful that he remembereth not, or so hard-hearted that he pitieth not that worshipful man's loss? What speak I of loss, his wonderful spoil and undeserved destruction, only because it happened him to favour them whom the Prince favoured not. We need not rehearse of these any more by name, since I doubt not that here be many present, that either in themselves or their nigh friends, as well their goods as their persons, were greatly endangered either by feigned quarrels or small matters aggravated with heinous names, and also there was no crime so great, of which there could lack a pretext. For since the King preventing the time of his inheritance, attained the crown by battle, it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to have been of kindred or alliance, near of familiarity, or longer of acquaintance with any of those that were at any time the King's enemies, which was at one time or another more than half the realm. Thus were neither your goods nor lands in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in jeopardy, besides the common adventure of open war; which albeit, that it is ever the will and occasion of much

mischief, yet it is never so mischievous, as where any people fall in division, and at distance among themselves: and in no realm earthly so deadly and so pestilent, as when it happeneth amongst us. And among us never continued so long dissension, nor so many battles in any season, nor so cruel, nor so deadly fought as were in the King's days that is dead. In whose time and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garland, keeping it, losing and winning it again, it hath cost more English blood than hath the twice winning of France. In which inward war amongst ourselves hath been so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this realm, that scarcely the half remaineth, to the great enfeebling of this noble land; besides many a good town ransacked and spoiled by them that have been going to the field, or returning from thence, and peace after, not much surer than war. So that no time was there in the which rich men for their money, and great men for their lands, or some other for some fear or for some displeasure were out of peril. For whom trusted he that mistrusted his own brother? Whom spared he that killed his own brother? Could not such manner of folk that he most favoured do somewhat (we shall for his honour spare to speak) howbeit, this you know well all, that whoso was best, bare ever the least rule, and more suit in his days was to Shore's wife, a vile and abominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England, except unto those that made her their protector, which simple woman yet well named and honest, till the King for his wanton lust and sinful affection bereft her of her husband, a right honest man and substantial amongst you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sorry to speak of, saying that it is vain to keep in counsel that thing that all men know, the King's greedy appetite was insatiable, and everywhere over all the realm intolerable. For no woman was there anywhere, young or old, poor or rich, whom he set his eye upon, whom he anything liked, either for person or beauty, speech, pace, or countenance, but without any fear of God, or respect of his honour, murmur, or grudging of the world, he would importunately pursue his appetite and have her, to the great destruction of many a good woman, and

great dolour to their husbands and friends, which being honest people of themselves, so much regarded the cleanness of their houses, the chastity of their wives and children, that they had rather lose all that they had besides, than to have such a villainy done to them.

"And albeit, that with this and other importable dealing, the realm was in every place annoyed, yet specially you the citizens of this nobility, as for that amongst you is most plenty of such things as minister matter to such injuries, as for that you were nearest hand, since that near hereabout was his most common abiding. And yet be ye a people whom he had as singular a cause well and truly to entreat, as any part of his realm: not only for that the Prince by this Noble City, as of his special chamber and renowned city of this realm, receiveth much honourable fame amongst all other nations, but also for that, you not without your great cost and sundry favours and dangers in all his wars, bare ever your special favour to his part: which your kind minds bare to the House of York, since he had nothing worthily requited you, there is of the House now which by God's grace shall make you full recompense, which thing to show you, is the whole sum and effect of our errand. It shall not need I hope, to rehearse unto you again that you have already heard of him who can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better believe it (and reason is that it should be so), I am not so proud to look therefore that you should receive my words of so great authority as the preacher's of the word of God, namely, a man so cunning and so wise, that no man knoweth better what he should do and say, and thereto so good and virtuous that he would not say the thing which he ought not to say in the pulpit, namely, unto the which no honest man cometh to lie, which honourable preacher ye well remember, substantially declared to you at Paul's Cross on Sunday last past, the right and title of the most excellent Prince Richard Duke of Gloucester, now Protector of this his realm which he hath unto the crown of the kingdom of the same. For that worshipful man made it perfectly and groundedly open unto you.

"The children of King Edward the Fourth were never lawfully begotten, for as much as the King (leaving his very wife Dame Elizabeth Lucy) was never lawfully married to the Queen their mother, whose blood, saving he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was full unmeetly to be matched with his (the mingling of which two bloods together hath been the effusion of a great part of the noble blood of this realm) whereby it may well be seen, that marriage was not well made, of which there is so much mischief grown.

"For lack of which lawful copulation, and also of other things which the said worshipful Doctor rather signified than fully explained, and which thing shall not be spoken for me, as the thing that every man forbeareth to say that he knoweth, in avoiding the displeasure that my noble Lord Protector, bearing, as nature requireth a filial reverence to the Duchess his mother. For these causes before remembered, I say that for lack of issue lawfully coming of the late noble Prince Richard Duke of York, to whose royal blood, the crowns of England and of France, are by the high authority of Parliament entailed, the right and title of the same is by just cause of inheritance, according to the common law of this land, devolved and come unto the most excellent Prince the Lord Protector, as to the very lawful begotten son of the fore remembered noble Duke of York. Which thing well considered, and the knightly prowess with many virtues which in his noble person singularly do abound; the Nobles and Commons of this realm, and specially of the North parts, not willing any bastard blood to have the rule of the land, nor the abuses in the same before used and exercised any longer to continue, have fully condescended and utterly determined to make humble petition unto the puissant Prince the Lord Protector, that it may like his Grace at our humble request, to take upon him the guiding and government of this realm, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his very right and just title; which thing I know well, he will be loath to take upon him, as he whose wisdom well perceiveth, the labour and study both of mind and body that shall come therewith to him, whoso-

ever shall occupy that room. I daresay he will, if he take it (for I warrant you that room is no child's office) and that the great wise man well perceived when he said, '*Væ regno cujus Rex puer est*,' Woe to that realm whose king is a child; wherefore so much the more cause have we to thank God, that this noble personage which is so righteously entitled thereto, is of so solid age, and thereto of so great wisdom, joined with so great experience, which albeit he will be loath, as I have said, to take upon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalf the more graciously incline if ye, the worshipful citizens of this City, being the chief city of the realm, join with us the nobles in our said request, which for your own weal we doubt not but that ye will. And yet nevertheless, we pray you so to do, whereby ye shall do great profit to all this his realm: beside that in choosing them so good a King, it shall be to yourself a special commodity, to whom his Majesty shall ever after bear so much the more tender favour, in how much he shall perceive you the more prone and benevolently minded towards his election: wherein dear friends, what mind ye have we require you plainly to show us."

When the Duke had said, and looked that the people whom he hoped that the Mayor had framed before, should after this flattering proposition made, have cried "King Richard, King Richard," all was still and mute, and not one word answered unto. Wherewith the Duke was marvellously abashed, and taking the Mayor near to him, with other that were about him privy to the matter, said unto them softly: "What meaneth this that the people be so still?" "Sir," quoth the Mayor, "perhaps they perceive you not well." "That shall we amend," quoth he, "if that will help." And therewith somewhat louder rehearsed the same matter again, in other and other words, so well and orderly, and nevertheless so evidently and plain, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled that heard him, and thought that they never heard in their lives so evil a tale so well told. But were it for fear, or that each looked that other should speak first, not one word was there

answered of all the people that stood before, but all were as still as the midnight, not so much as whispering among them, by which they might seem once to commune what was best to do. When the Mayor saw this, he, with other partners of the Council, drew about the Duke, and said, "that the people had not been accustomed there to be spoken unto, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the City, and happily to him they will answer." With that the Recorder, called Thomas Fitzwilliam, a solid man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and never had spoken to the people before, and loath he was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding being thereunto commanded by the Mayor, made a rehearsal to the Commons of that which the Duke had twice proposed himself; but the Recorder so tempered his tale, that he showed everything as the Duke's words were, and no part of his own, but all this made no change in the people, which all as one stood as they had been amazed. Whereupon the Duke whispered with the Mayor, and said, "this is a marvellous obstinate silence," and therewith turned to the people again with these words—"Dear friends, we come to move you to that thing, which peradventure we greatly needed not, but that the Lords of this realm, and Commons of other parts might have sufficed, saving such love we bear you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thing in which to be partners is your weal and honour, which as to us seemeth, you see not or weigh not; wherefore we require you to give us an answer, one or the other, whether ye be minded, as all the nobles of the realm be, to have this noble prince, now Protector, to be your King?"

And at these words the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor base, but like a swarm of bees, till at the last, at the nether end of the Hall, a company of the Duke's servants, and one Nashfield, and others belonging to the Protector, with some prentices and lads that thrusted themselves into the Hall amongst the press, began suddenly at men's backs to cry out as loud as they could, "King Richard, King Richard,"

and then threw up their caps in token of joy, and they that stood before cast back their heads marvelling thereat, but nothing they said. And when the Duke and the Mayor saw this manner they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry and a joyful, to hear every man with one voice, and no man saying nay. "Wherefore friends," quoth the Duke, "since we perceive that it is all your whole minds to have this nobleman for your King, whereof we shall make his Grace so effectual report that we doubt not but that it shall redound to your great wealth and commodity. We therefore require you, that to-morrow ye go with us, and we with you, to his noble Grace, to make our humble petition and request to him, in manner before remembered."

And therewith the lords came down, and the company dissolved and departed, the most part all sad, some with glad semblance that were not very merry, and some of them that came with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow, were fain even at his back, to turn their face to the wall, while the dolour of their hearts burst out of their eyes.

Then on the morrow the Mayor and Aldermen, and chief commanders of the laity, in their best manner apparelled, assembling them together at Paul's, resorted to Baynard's Castle where the Protector lay, to which place also, according to the appointment, repaired the Duke of Buckingham, and divers nobles with him, besides many knights and gentlemen. And thereupon, the Duke sent word to the Lord Protector, of the being there of a great honourable company to move a great matter to his Grace. Whereupon, the Protector made great difficulty to come down to them, except he knew some part of their errand, as though he doubted, and partly mistrusted the company of such a number to him so suddenly, without any warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harm. Then when the Duke had showed this to the Mayor and others, that they might thereby see how little the Protector looked for this matter; they sent again by the messenger such loving message, and therewith so humbly besought him to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent,

of which they would to no other person disclose any part. At the last he came out of his chamber, and yet not down to them, but in a gallery over them, with a bishop on each hand of him, where they beneath might see him and speak to him, as though he would not yet come near them, till he knew what they meant. And thereupon, the Duke of Buckingham first made humble petition to him on the behalf of them all, that his Grace would pardon them, and licence them to show unto his Grace the intent of their coming, without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be so bold to move him of that matter. In which, albeit they meant as much honour to his Grace, as wealth to all the realm besides, yet were they not sure how his Grace would take it, whom in no wise they would offend. Then the Protector, as he was very gentle of himself, and also longed sore apparently to know what they meant, gave him leave to deliver his message, verily trusting for the good mind that he bare unto them all, none of them would intend anything to his hurt, wherewith he thought to be grieved.

When the Duke had this leave and pardon to speak, then waxed he bold to show him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moving them thereunto, as ye before have heard. And finally to beseech his Grace, that it would like him of his accustomed goodness and zeal unto the realm, now with his eye of pity to behold the long-continued distress and decay of the same, and set his gracious hand to the redress and amendment thereof, by taking upon him the crown of the realm according to his right and title lawfully descended unto him, and to the laud of God, profit and surety of the land, and unto his Grace so much the more honour and less pain, in that that never prince reigned upon any people, that were so glad to live under his obeisance, as the people of this realm under his.

When the Protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat, and made answer that albeit he knew partly the things by them alleged to be true, yet such entire love he bare to King Edward and his children, and much more regarded his honour in other realms about, than the crown of any one, of which he was never desirous, for in all other nations

where the truth were not well known it should peradventure be thought that it were his own ambitious mind and device to depose the Prince, and to take the crown himself; with which infamy he would in no wise have his honour stained for any crown, in which he ever had perceived much more labour and pain, than pleasure to him, that so would use it as he that would not and were not worthy to have it.

Notwithstanding he not only pardoned them of the motion they made him, but also thanked them for the love and hearty favour they bare him, praying them for his sake to bear the same to the Prince, under whom he was and would be content to live, and with his labour and counsel as far as it should like the King to use it, he would do his uttermost devoir to set the realm in good estate which was already in the little time of his protectorship (praised be God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before the occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now, partly by good policy, partly more by God's providence, than man's provision, repressed and put under.

Upon this answer given, the Duke of Buckingham by the Protector's licence, a little whispered, as well with other noblemen about him, as with the Mayor and Recorder of London. And after that upon like pardon desired and obtained he showed aloud unto the Protector, for a final conclusion, that the realm was determined that King Edward's line should no longer reign over them, both that they had so far gone, that it was now no surety to retreat (as for that they thought it the best way for the whole realm, although they had not yet begun it). Wherefore if it would like his Grace to take the crown upon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto, and if he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, (which they would be loath to hear) then must they seek, and should not fail to find some other nobleman that would. These words much moved the Protector, which as every man of small intelligence may judge, would never have inclined thereto; but when he saw there was no other way but that he must take it, or else he and his both to go from it, he said to Lords

and Commons, "Since it is, we perceive well that all the realm is so set (whereof we be very sorry) that they will not suffer in any wise King Edward his line to govern them, whom no man earthly can govern against their wills. And we also perceive that there is no man to whom the crown can by so just title appertain as to ourself, as very right heir lawfully begotten of the body of our most dread and dear father Richard late Duke of York, to which title is now joined your election, Nobles and Commons of the realm, which we of all titles possibly take for most effectual, we be content and agree favourably to incline to your petition and request, and according to the same, here we take upon us the royal estate of pre-eminence and kingdom of the two noble realms, England and France, the one from this day forward by us and our heirs to rule, govern, and defend, the other, by God his grace, and your good help to get again, subdue and establish for ever in due obedience unto this realm of England, the advancement whereof, we never ask of God longer to live than we intend to procure and set forth." With this there was a great cry and shout, crying, "King Richard," and so the Lords went up to the King, and so he was after that day so called. But the people departed, talking diversely of the matter, every man as his fantasy gave him, but much they marvelled of this manner of delaying, that the manner was on both parts made so strange, as though never the one part had communed with the other part thereof before, when they knew that there was no man so dull that heard them, but he perceived well enough that all the matter was made between them. Howbeit, some excused that again, saying, all things must be done in good order, and men must sometimes for the manner sake not be known what they know. For at the consecration of a bishop, every man perceiveth by payment of his bulls that he intendeth to be one, yet when he is twice asked whether he will be a bishop, he must twice say nay, and at the third time take it upon him as compelled thereto by his own will. And in a stage-play, the people know right well that he that playeth the Soldan, is perhaps a cobbler, yet if one of his acquaintance,

perhaps of little nurture, should call him by his name while he standeth in his majesty, one of his tormentors might fortune to break his head for marring the play. And so they said, these matters be Kings' games, as it were stage-plays, and for the most part played upon scaffolds, in which the poor men be but lookers-on, and they that be wise, will meddle no further, for they that step up with them, when they cannot play their parts, they disorder the play, and do themselves no good.

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